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NARRATIVE

OF THE

TRANSACTIONS

IN

B E N G A L,

FROM THE

YEAR 1760, to the YEAR 1764,

During the GOVERNMENT of

Mr. HENRY VANSITTART.

Published by HIMSELF.

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NARRATIVE

OF THE

TRANSACTIONS in BENGAL.

*Translation of a Letter from the Nabob
to the Governor. Dated March 26,
1762.*

“  OUR friendly letter, dated
 Y the 17th of Shaaban, I have
 received, and I rejoice at the
news of your welfare. You wrote that,
“ Mr. Ellis applied to Mharajah Raje-
bullub, as Naib of Azimabad, and ob-
tained from him a letter to Shujan Sing,
the Kelladar of Mongheer, which he
sent him; and that the Mharajah know-
VOL. II. B ing

ing himself to be Naib, wrote a letter and gave it; that the Kelladar would not suffer the serjeant to go into the fort to look after the soldiers, and made a disturbance for a trifling affair; that I should write a perwannah to the said Kelladar, and order him to suffer the fort to be searched for the soldiers; and that he be punished in case they be found there."

WHATEVER you write is proper: yet, from my first accession to the government, I have perceived, that many English gentlemen were ill affected to me, and that the country was not in my own hands. The cause of the disaffection of those gentlemen I know not; you may. The cause of the country's not being in my hands is this; that from the factory of Calcutta to Cossimbuzar, Patna and Dacca, all the English chiefs, with their gomastahs, officers and agents, in every district of the government, act as collectors, renters, zemindars and taalookdars, and setting up the Company's colors, allow no power to my officers. And besides this, the gomastahs and o-
ther

ther servants in every district, in every gunge, pergunah and village, carry on a trade in oil, fish, straw, bamboos, rice, paddy, beetle-nut, and other things; and every man with a Company's dustuck in his hand, regards himself as not less than the Company. In this case I never can have any authority as long as I live. Nevertheless I believed, and assured myself, that you would not listen to what slanderers might say of my proceedings; and that whenever I write to you about the oppressions of the gomastahs, you would punish and keep them within bounds. But now, from the letters which I have twice received from you, it is evident, that whatever I write, you regard as a falsehood; and that whatever those gentlemen write, with a view of vilifying me, and rendering me contemptible, that you give credit to. I have no remedy.

RAJEBULLUB as Naib might have written, and given a letter about such an affair, when I was not within two or three days journey of Patna; but whilst

I am at hand, what authority has he to proceed in such an affair without my knowledge? Therefore he strongly denies that he wrote such a letter, as you must have known before this from his letter which I sent you. This circumstance ought to be enquired into; because, if he did write, and give such a letter, and then deny it to me, it is certain that he had a design to disturb the friendship between us; and in that case I will punish him as he deserves, as a warning to other incendiaries.

How could Shujan Sing give liberty to any one to enter the fort? There is a great difference between sending a company and a single serjeant; since, from the union between us, I look upon the Company's forces as my own, and their forts and mine as the same: in this business one note or one serjeant would have been sufficient. What occasion was there for sending a company? I myself have never entertained a European in the fort, and what power has Shujan Sing to entertain any without my knowledge? What service

vice could my affairs reap from four or five Europeans? Or what important employment could I give them, that I should offend my friends for so trifling an occasion? And since I well know, and you yourself are sensible, that if I should apply to you for two or four hundred Europeans, you would immediately grant them; why should I entertain four or five in secret? And what is Shujan Sing's fault? I have not allowed entrance into the fort; the reason is, that Mr. Ellis commits open acts of hostility against me, raises calumnies against me, corresponds with my enemies, and instead of a single letter sends two hundred seepoys; and all that he has written to you is utterly false. I have made a strict enquiry, and I am certain there is not an English deserter in the fort of Mongheer. Till you and the gentlemen of the council, do me justice in this affair, and send me some person from Calcutta to enquire into it, and bring the slanderers to shame, I will upon no account permit the fort to be searched. That gentleman has in-

vented this false charge against me to-day; and you upon his information, without any enquiry, order me to let the fort be searched. Another day, if he writes that a dependant of yours, or an European, is concealed in my tent or house, and that I am an enemy of the Company's, you will believe him, mistrust me, and order me to suffer a search to be made there likewise."

Extract of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor. Dated May 24, 1762.

"**Y**OU write me, that "by carrying on so long a correspondence in so trifling an affair, which is nothing more than, whether search shall be made for some European deserters; from whence you perceive, it is the intention of some designing persons to breed a dissension between me and the Company; that if Shujan Sing had permitted the serjeant to go into the fort, and look for the deserters, there would have been an end of the dispute; that I should believe you firm to the treaty and your engagements,

gements, nor hearken to the suggestions of designing persons, but remove them from me."

THOUGH I have ever continued firm to the treaty, and to my engagements; though I have maintained my faith to you inviolable with my heart and soul; and am resolved whilst I live to persevere in the duties of friendship; yet Mr. Ellis, from his inveterate enmity against me, invents falsehoods, and writes them to you. It grieves me, that you should pay such regard to what he writes, conclude every thing that I write to be false, and still tell me to let the fort be searched; and treat this affair, which is the greatest mark of indignity and distrust, as a trifle.

IT is amazing you have not discovered who is the designing person between you and me. I have no designing person about me. If upon enquiry any such be discovered, I will punish him as he deserves. If I write, that such a person in your society is the designing man, you will not believe me. Before

this, I sent you inclosed a letter of the Nabob Salar Jung's, Naib of the Vizir, from thence you must have seen what person is an enemy to my country and life. You are my protector; and your chief sitting at Patna writes in enmity to me to the court; and proclaims with a loud voice in publick company, that "I am going to the south, and that he will send two thousand Europeans, who shall level the fort of Mongheer with the earth; that his Majesty is about to restore the Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn, or the family of Serfraz Cawn; that he has written letters to the Company, and it will be seen what answer will arrive." How long shall I write on these matters? Or what profit do I get by writing?"

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant Ironside to the Governor. Dated April 27, 1762.

"EARLY this morning Mr. Hastings arrived at Mongheer. About a mile and a half from the town he found a party of ours encamped, consisting

sisting of one serjeant, and a compleat company of seepoys, who came some time in February last, and remained here by order. By a strict prohibition of the Nabob, produced by the Kelladar, they have been constantly refused admittance into the fort; and whenever they approach the town, either single or in small bodies, the gates are always closed against them. The serjeant mentions to have received notice about the latter end of February of two Europeans, who were said, by the town's people, to be then in the place; but that he himself has never seen them, nor heard of them since, any where about the country.

IN consequence of yours and Mr. Hastings's orders, I was in the fort to-day for some hours, the serjeant and two seepoys with me, who, as well as myself, were acquainted with the place. We dispersed several ways, and made a strict but ineffectual search.

ONE European indeed I met with, a lame Frenchman, who has been a long while

while in the Nabob's service; who lost an arm in it, and tells me, he was sent to this garrison about six months ago. I examined this man very particularly concerning the deserters, and accompanied my questions with promises of freedom, and a handsome recompence, if he would discover to me where they were: but he absolutely assured me, that there was not only none here at present, but that he had never seen a single European in the fort since his coming.

UPON enquiring in the town, the same answers were returned. From these accounts I am apt to believe, whatever deserters may have taken shelter there, they have been long gone from thence. The extreme misery of the wretch, to whom I offered the gratuity, seems to confirm this opinion, since he scarcely would have rejected such terms of protection and reward, for declaring what could in no manner affect him to his detriment. He is very anxious for his liberty, which Mr. Hastings intends to solicit for to the Nabob."

THE stile of Mr. Ellis's letters, was evidently calculated to inflame the minds of such of the members of the Board, as had taken up the same prejudices against the Nabob with himself, and were ready to second his views. Accordingly, upon all occasions, when these representations were received from Patna, some one was always ready to propose the most violent measures; for example, when advice was received from Mr. Ellis, of the seepoys being refused admittance into Mongheer fort, to search for the deserters, it was proposed, that an additional number of troops should be sent to force an entrance; and when Coja Antoon (sent down prisoner by Mr. Ellis, for purchasing five maunds of salt-petre) arrived in Calcutta, it was moved by some, that he should be publickly whipped; and Mr. Johnstone, strongly urged, that he should have his ears cut off; and as there was at this time a large majority of the Board in this disposition, or I may rather say that, at this time, I had not even one to support

port me, I was in continual apprehensions, that some violent measures would take place, and make an irreparable breach between us and the Nabob ; I therefore made it my study, by moderation, to abate this violent spirit which prevailed. I forbore to make any remarks on the steps which had been taken by Mr. Ellis, and could not then be remedied ; and rather seemed to approve of what was passed, to prevent their going to greater lengths, and keep things quiet upon the footing they then were, until orders could be received from the Company. Guided by this principle, when Coja Antoon arrived in Calcutta, I joined with the rest of the Board, in approving of Mr. Ellis's seizing him ; and by that concession, brought them to agree to his being sent back to the Nabob, and referred to him to be punished. In the same manner, when the seepoys, sent by Mr. Ellis to search the fort of Mongheer, were refused admittance, and had posted themselves at four or five miles distance, I agreed with

with the Board, in ordering them to remain there quiet, until an officer was admitted to search for the deserters; and by repeated representations to the Nabob, of the necessity of his acquiescing so far, at length obtained his consent. This explanation of the reasons of my conduct, on these occasions, seemed necessary, as I think I am more liable to censure, for having so far approved of Mr. Ellis's unjustifiable proceedings, than for all the support I have given the Nabob, in the exercise of his due authority, although I have been frequently reproached with having defended the rights of his government, beyond the bounds of justice.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the assurances I could give the Nabob, he was made so extremely uneasy by these continual insults, that his own people, and the whole country, could not help observing it. Those who were disaffected about his person, did not lose the opportunity of encouraging his enemies by reporting, that the English were on the
point

point of breaking with him ; that they had sent an army against Mongheer fort ; that more forces were coming up from Calcutta ; and that he, unable to contend with the English, was resolved not to return from the Bowjepoor country, but retire into the Deccan. At the same time, they were continually insinuating to the Nabob, that Mr. Ellis was actually resolved to attack him, and that Colonel Coote was coming up with the same design *. It is not to be wondered, that such reports, corroborated by the insults Mr. Ellis had actually committed, should create in the Nabob strong suspicions ; and altho'

* About this time a conspiracy was detected against the Nabob's person ; which was carried on by Seeteram Dewan, Sheik Sadoolla Jemmatdar (two of the Nabob's chief confidants) and Narain Sing, and Muttroomul Hircarras. It was discovered by some intercepted letters from the conspirators to Pulwan Sing, and the other rebel zemindars of Bowjepoor. I shall insert only one of them, which will serve to shew, by the arguments made use of, the unhappy consequences of Mr. Ellis's conduct, and the encouragement it gave to the Nabob's enemies.

altho' I am persuaded he had an entire confidence in my friendship, and knew, that I would do my utmost to prevent any infringement of the agreement between him

Translation of a Letter from Seeteram to Raja Pulwan Sing, the principal Bowjepoor Rajah.

“**I** LONG much to see you, I have already wrote you the particulars, which you have doubtless perused. God grant you may soon return to your own country, and there is great probability that will soon happen, for the Nabob Cossim Allee Cawn, and the Europeans, are at variance; and Mr. Ellis (chief of the English factory at Patna) and Goorgheen Cawn, are great enemies to each other; and Mr. Ellis has sent an army of seepoys to take Mongheer fort. In this situation the Nabob cannot remain in this country. It appears, that he will take the Delly road, on account of the disputes between him and the Europeans. Shuja Dowla will shortly be in possession of this province, and you will be in possession of your zemindarree; so make yourself quite easy.”

As soon as the Nabob had possession of these letters, he summoned Seeteram into his presence; charged him with his crime, in the presence of several hundreds of people, many of them of distinction, who were assembled on this occasion, and produced other proofs of his guilt. He appealed
to

him and the Company ; yet he had experienced that my power was not sufficient, and that he depended, as he observed in several of his letters, on the will of many, and some of those his irreconcilable enemies.

Nothing is so difficult as to remove suspicions of this kind when once they have taken root, especially if there be any advisers who have an interest in fomenting the quarrel. In such a case, every assurance of friendship is represented as a design to deceive and unguard, and then to take an advantage ; and when such representations can be strengthened with notorious instances of recent affronts, there is hardly a possibility they should not gain credit.

WHILST to the assembly for their sentence on him, which was unanimous, that he was guilty, and deserved to suffer death ; and he was executed accordingly. A few days after Narain Sing, and Muttroomul, underwent the same trial, and the same fate. Sheik Sadoolla, who was encamped at some distance, refused to obey the summons. The Nabob detached a body of forces against him, with orders to bring him before him alive or dead. He stood upon his defence, and was killed.

WHILST these commotions were encouraged at Patna, the enemies of the Nabob were not idle below; they invented a large parcel of letters, and handed them to Mr. Batson, chief of Cossimbuzar, as copies of a correspondence between the Nabob, his uncle Torab Allee Cawn (who was his deputy at Moorshedabad) and Coja Petrus, an Armenian merchant of Calcutta. These Mr. Batson transmitted to the Board; they brought with them many marks of forgery, but one in particular, which was sufficient to convince me, as they spoke of a man, who was said to have been sent with a message from the Nabob to me, of which man and message I had never heard. However, all my assurances had little weight with minds filled with such warm prejudices; and it had well nigh been resolved to seize Coja Petrus, and all his papers, upon no better evidence than these supposed copies, although confuted by their own contents. However, it was agreed to proceed on an enquiry with the greatest

VOL. II. C secrecy,

secrecy, in order to arrive at some proof; but the more we enquired, the stronger was the appearance of forgery, although we could not positively trace it to the first author.

SUCH pains taken to sow dissensions and jealousies on both sides, could not fail to produce a quarrel, and that very shortly. Although the Nabob consented to all that I proposed, with respect to Coja Antoon, that he should be dismissed his service; and with respect to the deserters, that an officer sent by me should search the fort of Mongheer. Yet such reiterated affronts left upon his mind a fixed resentment and extreme uneasiness, and gave him an unhappy instance of the strength of the party opposed to him, and of my inability to secure him against their open and secret designs. And on our part, although I was convinced myself, that the Nabob had neither the means nor the inclination to set himself up against us; yet so many reports were spread about of an approaching rupture, that many must necessarily be

be deceived; some for want of an opportunity of being better informed, and more by depending on the information of such, as were always willing to believe what they wished, and therefore gave that turn to every piece of intelligence however inconsistent with reason.

SECTION IX.

Mr. Hastings's Deputation to the Nabob.

The State and Causes of the Disputes between the Officers of the Government, and our Agents in the inland Trade.

Reasons of this Deputation. — Instructions to Mr. Hastings. — Mr. Amyatt's Motion for an additional Clause. — Debate and Opinion thereupon. — The Clause agreed to. — Copy of it. — Mr. Amyatt's further Minute. — Mr. Hastings arrives at the Nabob's camp. — The Nabob's Answer to the Board's Message. — Mr. Hastings endeavours ineffectually to reconcile Mr. Ellis with the Nabob.

—Two Letters on that Subject. —Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Board.

—Several Letters between Mr. Hastings and Mr. Vansittart. —Letters from the Board to Mr. Hastings and Mr. Ellis. —Mr. Ellis's Answer. —Rise of the Disputes between the Nabob's Officers and our Agents. —Letters on that Subject between Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Hastings. —Mr. Hastings returns to Calcutta. —Complaints from the Nabob and his officers, regarding our Agents and Gomastahs.

THINGS could not stand long up-
 on the point to which they were
 now brought. Every word and action
 of the Nabob's was construed into a de-
 claration of a design against the English ;
 and particularly from the chief and coun-
 cil at Patna suggestions of this kind were
 frequent ; whilst, on the part of the Na-
 bob, every ordinary motion of ours was
 represented to him in such colors, as
 would most add to his apprehensions of
 our intending to break with him. This
 lurking

lurking disease, if not speedily removed, must soon break out with violence ; and the most effectual remedy I judged, would be to send a person, in whom the Nabob had great confidence, to assure him, that his suspicions of our intending to break with him were groundless ; to desire him not to give ear to those who studied to represent every thing in the worst light ; to advise him to forget what had passed between him and Mr. Ellis ; and finally to endeavor to bring about a reconciliation between them ; in which good work I hoped Mr. Ellis would readily join. With these views I proposed to the Board, to send Mr. Hastings on a deputation to the Nabob ; which was agreed to, and the following instructions prepared,

Copy of the Governor and Council's Instructions to Mr. Hastings. Dated Calcutta, March 15, 1762.

“ **W**E have observed, for some time past, an uneasiness or jealousy in the Nabob's conduct, which we can attribute to nothing but the false reports and representations of mischievous persons; and being desirous of convincing him, that we wish for nothing more, than to preserve the present tranquility of the country, to avoid all disputes, and to conform to the terms of the treaty subsisting between him and the Company. We think proper to depute you, in whom the Nabob has great confidence, to make him those assurances on our behalf.

AT the same time we should be extremely glad to discover who have been the secret authors of this growing jealousy. We imagine, there may be some as well amongst the persons living under our protection, as about the Nabob's person. You may assure the Nabob, that we

we shall severely punish those who belong to us, whenever we can fix the guilt; and you will strenuously recommend to him to do the same on his part.

THE sooner you can set out on this commission the better, that the bad effects, which the want of confidence between us and the Nabob might occasion in the country, may be prevented."

THE next Council day but one, Mr. Amyatt made a motion in the following terms.

"MR. Amyatt recollects the President mentioned, that twenty lacks of rupees were promised by Cossim Allee Cawn to the Board; but that he would not consent to this money's being received till the debt to the Company was paid: as that is now satisfied, Mr. Amyatt is of opinion, it should be made a part of Mr. Hastings's instructions, to endeavor to recover the promised twenty lacks of rupees; and when recovered,

ed, that instead of being distributed amongst the members of the Board, which could not fail raising a suspicion, that our assents to the revolution were bought, the money should be brought to the credit of the Company."

As Mr. Amyatt could not sincerely think the Company had a right to make such a demand upon the Nabob, it is impossible to assign any other reason for this motion, than an intention of frustrating, by so unjust and vexatious a dispute, the good end proposed from Mr. Hastings's deputation, and effectually shutting up all the ways of reconciliation, by a demand, which every one knew the Nabob would reject with astonishment. However, Messieurs Johnstone and Hay joined heartily in this demand; and whether they thought major Carnac's opinion would add weight to their resolutions, or whether they were unwilling to deprive him of a share, in every opportunity of insulting the Nabob; or whether it was the major's own

own desire to be a party on this occasion, it was moved *, that he should be called to the Board, although it is very certain, according to the Company's regulations, he could not sit there on such a subject.

THE

* The following is the substance of the debate, upon the motion for calling major Carnac to the Board upon this occasion.

“ Mr. Johnstone moves, that the opinion of the colonel and major should be asked, with regard to the instructions to be given to Mr. Hastings.

The question being put, whether the colonel and major should be desired to attend ?

Mes. Hay, Johnstone and Amyatt are of opinion, the Company's intention, in their sixty-third paragraph, mentioning military affairs and matters, relative thereto, implies, that colonel Coote and major Carnac are to be present, and consulted in affairs of such publick nature, as deputations, alliances, and in drawing up instructions, for whoever may be sent in such publick character, on the part of the Board, when the national honor, and the Company's business, are interested. The Governor thinks, that the Company's instructions, in the sixty-fourth paragraph of their commands, of the 13th of March, 1761, are very plain, that neither colonel Coote, nor major Carnac, are members either of the Board, or Select Committee, excepting in cases where military affairs only are under debate.

THE opinions given by the several members, and by myself, with respect to the proposed demand, were these following.

Mr. Hay's Minute.

“ As it appears to me, from the President's declaration, that the bond for this money was given to the members of the Board, that were then present in Calcutta, and that Mr. Holwell was one of them ; from its being the only advantage gained by the treaty with Cossim Allee Cawn, except his promise to get the Nabob Meer Jaffier Allee Cawn to make over the revenues of the lands,
now

bate. These are the words of the Company's letter, and need no explanation ; and are apparently intended to limit the meaning of the word *relative*, which stands in the foregoing paragraph, and which can be understood only of negotiations to be carried on with any foreign power, with a view to some projected military operation. He thinks the instructions to Mr. Hastings are no ways relative to military affairs ; yet it is not at all disagreeable to him to have the advice of those gentlemen, if the rest of the Board think it will be for the good of the Company.”

now possessed by the Company, for the maintenance of our troops in his service ; and that the only expence and risk of putting in Cossim Allee Cawn, for which he promised and gave a bond for these twenty lacks, must fall on the Company. I think, that they have an undoubted right to the money, and that it should be demanded of the Nabob on their account ; and in case he refuses payment on account of the bond's being returned, that he should be made to understand, that it was returned without proper authority, and not by an order of the Board."

Mr. Johnstone's Minute.

" MR. Johnstone thinks Mr. Hastings should be directed to ask this sum, promised by Cossim Allee Cawn, in consequence of service to be rendered him by the representatives of the Company, and by their power and influence, which may therefore be considered as the Company's due ; otherwise, the proceedings of their servants, in the advancement of
Cossim

Coffim Allee Cawn, would be liable to the suspicion, that their motives were other than those they have declared; that when Coffim Allee Cawn tendered his bond to the members then present in Calcutta, the Company might have expected their agents to have accepted and transferred it to their account, from the same spirit of disinterestedness, as the only immediate advantage then offered, especially as the Company ran the risk, and supplied the force and expence required for this revolution : and he joins in opinion with Mr. Hay, that as the bonds were not returned by a regular deed of the council, the amount may still be demanded and recovered of the Nabob."

"MAJOR Carnac is of opinion, the demand proposed to be made to the Nabob, by Messieurs Amyatt, Johnstone, and Hay, of the twenty lacks, ought to be done, were it only in justification of themselves; for, however innocent the gentlemen of the Board may be, the world probably imagines, that they have
all

all received some pecuniary consideration, in return for having appointed Cossim Allee Cawn to the Subahdarree; whereas, from this demand being made, the contrary will appear upon record. If the Nabob refuses, which I think he will and ought, we are justified at once; and if he grants it, there is so much gained to the Company."

The President's Minute.

"THAT a right judgment may be formed, whether the demand proposed by Mr. Amyatt, to be made upon the Nabob of twenty lacks of rupees is reasonable or not? It seems necessary to recite here all the circumstances of the case, on which he would found the claim. I have informed the Board more than once, and particularly in consultation January 12, 1761, that Cossim Allee Cawn (now the Nabob) at the time of concluding the treaty with him, in the month of September, 1760, desired to make a present to myself, and the other gentlemen of the Select Committee,

tee,

tee, then at Calcutta. I have as often mentioned, that I immediately and absolutely declined the said offer, for myself and the rest of the gentlemen, observing to Cossim Allee Cawn, that in the agreements entered into with him, we had no other view, but the restoring order to the country, and settling a more certain fund for supplying the unavoidable expences of the Company, then so ill provided for, that our troops at Patna had been some months without their pay; at the same time, that the Nabob's own affairs were in so distressed a condition, that he was every day in danger of losing his life, by the mutinous attempts of his troops.

THE paper which Cossim Allee Cawn delivered me, containing this proposal, I returned the very moment I had read it. It was wrote in Persian; and, to the best of my recollection, was to the following purport: "That three months after his appointment to the neabut, or deputy government, under the Nabob, Jaffer Allee Cawn, he would give twenty
lacks

lacks of rupees to Messieurs Vansittart, Holwell, Caillaud, Sumner and M^rGwire." These four gentlemen entirely approved of my refusal of this offer ; and what I said on the occasion to Cossim Allee Cawn, who was however a good deal surprized and uneasy at it. Afterwards at Moorshedabad, when Jaffier Allee Cawn declared his resolution to retire to Calcutta, and Cossim Allee Cawn was proclaimed Subah of the provinces, he renewed the same offer, and I again declined it in the same terms, adding, that if he found himself capable of raising money enough to answer the monthly payments of the Company's balance, and satisfy the troops of Jaffier Allee Cawn, and had besides any thing to spare, he might make the Company a present of five lacks over and above his agreements, to be sent to Madras, to help to defray the expences of the army before Pondicherry ; to which he immediately consented.

ABOUT two months after, the Nabob sent me a compliment of a bill for

25,000

25,000 rupees, upon the occasion of the birth of my son. I laid this before the Board, in consultation January 12, 1761, and declared, that as I had rejected for myself, and the other gentlemen of the Select Committee, all offers of private emoluments, and had not received a single rupee from the Nabob, so neither would I, while a doubt subsisted with respect to the money he had engaged to pay the Company, or the long arrears of his predecessor's troops; accordingly, the 25,000 rupees were paid into the Company's treasury.

SINCE that, the Nabob has, by surprising diligence in the regulation of the affairs of his government, discharged not only the payments due to the Company, with the addition of the promised five lacks, but has also satisfied his predecessor's and his own troops, notwithstanding the cession to the Company, of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, made a very large deduction from his revenues.

THE amount the Company have received from the Nabob, is about twenty-six lacks of Sicca rupees *, as *per* receipt in full, entered after consultation February 8, 1762. And from the said countries ceded as before-mentioned, we have received to the 31st of January last, above fifty-three lacks of current rupees †, as *per* abstracted account transmitted to the honourable Court of Directors by the Warren. After this, I cannot see upon what pretence we can demand of the Nabob a further sum of twenty lacks of rupees. If we were in distress for money for carrying on the Company's affairs, and were on that account under a necessity of requesting of the Nabob to lend us such a sum, I have that opinion of him, as to think that he would comply with the request if in his power ; or even give it, if such an application was to be made to him as a favor requested for the Company.

* A Sicca rupee is worth about 2 s. 8 d. $\frac{1}{2}$, reckoning the current rupee at 2 s. 4 d.

† A current rupee is reckoned worth 2 s. 4 d.

AND on the other hand, if the demand of such a sum is set up without the least plea, I think he will not only excuse himself from complying with so unreasonable a claim, but will also look upon it as a mark, that we are not inclined to observe on our part the treaty which he has so well fulfilled on his; and in which it is agreed, that we shall ask nothing more than the monies therein promised, and the cessions therein stipulated. Consequently such a demand would very much add to the uneasiness which the Board have of late observed in the Nabob, and which, one and all, have expressed a desire of finding out the cause of, and removing. The demand now proposed tends to aggravate that uneasiness instead of removing it. I hope such is not Mr. Amyatt's view in making the proposal; but it is hard to conceive from what motive it can have proceeded. Certainly it is not from pure regard to the Company, nor from any conviction of the justness of the claim; for he never thought of offering the

the Company what he received of the Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn's present to the Council and Committee; nor ever gave it as his opinion that the Company had a right to it.

FOR my own part, I think that neither the Company nor I, nor any other person, have any other claim or demand upon the Nabob of any sort, that there is not even an appearance of justice in Mr. Amyatt's proposal, and that the prosecution of it could have none but bad consequences."

THE Majority of the Board agreeing, that the proposed demand should be made upon the Nabob, the following postscript was accordingly added to Mr. Hastings's instructions.

"AND we further direct you, to apply to the Nabob for the twenty lacks of rupees, the amount of the bond he gave at the time the treaty was made with him, to the members of the Select Committee then present in Calcutta; to

which sum, notwithstanding they returned the bond, we conceive the Company have a title. You will therefore use your best endeavors to recover the same as soon as possible, as the tranquillity of the country, by the success of our arms, has undoubtedly enabled him to discharge the above obligation."

Mr. Amyatt judging it necessary to make some reply to the arguments contained in my minute, it is here inserted, lest it should be said, that any thing is omitted, although not material to the present subject.

"The minute given in by the President the 22d of March, has not in the least altered the sentiments of Mr. Amyatt, in regard to the demand proposed by him to be made from Coffin Allee Cawn, of the twenty lacks of rupees for the use of the Company, as he finds nothing in the minute to invalidate the reason which induced him to propose that the demand should be made;
nor

nor did any minute or expression of Mr. Vansittart's ever imply such money was not to be received, but the contrary, and only rested the payment of it to the Nabob's generosity, after his other expences were defrayed, which was not risking much ; for while we remain so powerful in this country, such a promise the Nabob will look on as binding as a bond, and the taking a bond might have bad appearances ; for it is acknowledged, that a paper was received from him, containing a promise of twenty lacks of rupees to Mess. Vansittart, Cailaud, Holwell, Sumner, and M'Gwire. Now it is not to be imagined, that he would have offered so large a sum to these gentlemen, to the exclusion of the other members of the Council and Select Committee (an offer before unprecedented) but as a consideration to engage them to conclude with him a treaty, from whence he was to reap so much advantage, without regarding the opinions of the rest of the Board. As therefore they could have no right to receive money upon such

terms, and Mr. Amyatt is willing to believe they have not ; if they thought proper of themselves to sign a treaty on the part of our Honorable Masters, the consideration for so doing ought to be paid to those who were to be the only losers, in case of ill consequences arising thencefrom.

THE parallel between the present received by Mr. Amyatt in common with the whole Board, as well as with the army and navy ; and this of twenty lacks, intended for five gentlemen only, is as unjust, as it would be to make a parallel between the two revolutions ; the one established in consequence of the overthrow of a common enemy ; the other in direct breach of the former engagements ; the act of only part of the Council, and to which, had all the members been consulted, the majority would probably have objected. Mr. Amyatt wishes he could agree with the President, that the Nabob is well disposed towards us ; if that were the case, there would be no necessity at this time of our
sending

sending Mr. Hastings up to him. The whole tenor of his conduct demonstrates the contrary; he is keeping up, and daily increasing a rabble of an army, at an immense expence; which he can do from no other motives, but from distrust, and a desire of being independent of us, as he may command, by virtue of the treaty, the service of our troops for all occasions. He now remains at the extremity of the country, through his suspicions of us; and in order to be at a greater distance from our settlements, has determined on removing the seat of his government to Rajemahl; and indeed it is no wonder he should entertain these suspicions, as he can have no security that we will keep our faith with him, better than we did with his father-in-law, to whom we were bound by engagements, more solemn than those since entered into with him; nor can he ever acquit himself of his own treachery to Jaffier Allee Cawn, which must ever keep alive the suspicions now burning in his heart. Mr. Amyatt does not allow

the smallest degree of merit to Cossim Allee Cawn, for having discharged the payments due to the Company and his troops; his being in a condition to do so, was entirely owing to the happy change of affairs by the defeat of the Shahzada. The same success would have equally enabled Meer Jaffier to do so. But moreover, Cossim Allee Cawn has taken the opportunity of the tranquility of the country, to commit the most unheard of exactions and oppressions; and (as a further proof of his regard for us) more particularly against such as were our avowed friends; Ramnarain, with many others, are now the unhappy instances thereof, by the giving up of whom, and becoming in every thing since subservient to the Nabob's views, without keeping up any interest or friendship with any other of the leading men in the country; there is not a man of any rank or consequence, as dare so much as visit, or have the least connection with any of our chiefs or commanders,

manders, as their letters to the Board at different times can testify."

To which I only answered these few words to close the subject.

"THE President begs leave to observe, that the treaty entered into with Cossim Allee Cawn, properly came under the province of the Select Committee, and all the members thereof, who were present in Calcutta, were unanimous in their opinion of it. As to the remarks on the consequences of that treaty, they are the same as have already been often mentioned; and upon which we may expect shortly the sentiments and directions of our Honorable Masters."

MR. Hastings set out the 9th of April on this commission, and arrived at Patna the second of the month following; here he expected to have met Mr. Ellis, and to have conferred with him upon the subject of that gentleman's late disputes with the Nabob; but he was then at Singia, a country-house about fifteen miles distant

distant from the factory ; and continued there during the whole time of Mr. Hastings's stay at Patna, which was five days. Disappointed of this interview, Mr. Hastings proceeded to Serferam, where the Nabob then lay encamped, and delivered to him the substance of the commission, which he had received from the Board. The Nabob expressed much offence at the charge of his having shewn a jealousy of the English, and listened to the suggestions of those who strove to create a misunderstanding between him and the Company. He declared with warmth, that though he had cause to complain of individuals amongst the former, yet he regarded the English in general as his best friends, and the Company as his support ; and that he knew of no person that strove to create a misunderstanding between him and the Company but Mr. Ellis, repeating all the grievances which he had suffered from that gentleman. He afterwards gave Mr. Hastings a reply in writing, to the message which he had brought, in the following terms.

Translation

*Translation of the Nabob's Reply to the
Representations of the Board.*

“ **T**HAT you, gentlemen, should unreasonably demand twenty lacks of rupees of me, surprizes me greatly. This is a behavior unbecoming men of dignity, in whom it is doubtless improper, after having refused a thing, to repent of it, and demand it in the name of their masters. It is true, I formerly offered to give such a sum to Mr. Vansittart, and some other gentlemen; but they positively refused to accept it, saying, “ We are well-wishers of the Company, and desire nothing for ourselves; give the Company the three provinces of Burdwan, &c. and that is sufficient.” Now most of the gentlemen, to whom I made this offer, have left the country; and as to the one or two who still remain here, I do not think that they will demand it of me. You, Sir, who are come to this place to bring so unjust a claim, on what pretence, and with what design do you do so? You ought to keep in
view,

view, gentlemen, the agreement I made with you, in relation to the affairs of the Company; wherein, when I agreed to give them the three provinces of Burdwan, &c. you promised, on their part, and gave it me in writing, that after having received these provinces, you would not ask a * farthing more of me.

HAVING accordingly fully complied with my agreements, I did besides, at the instance and desire of Mr. Vansittart, and of my own free will, give the Company five lacks of rupees over and above; willing thereby to give Mr. Vansittart a credit with the Company, and that they might regard me as their friend in every respect. By the grace of God, I have compleatly fulfilled the treaty, and have not, in a single instance, deviated from it. Yet, gentlemen, notwithstanding this treaty you solemnly made with me, and ratified with the seal of the Company, you now demand a sum of money from me, which I have never borrowed

* In the original *a dam*, the fortieth part of a rupee.

borrowed of you, nor obliged myself to pay; nor have you, in any manner, the least claim on me. I owe nobody a single rupee, nor will I pay your demand. This new custom which you are endeavoring to set up, in violation of the treaty between us, this custom so calculated for raising a disturbance, I will not admit nor hear of.

You say, that I should remove out of my mind, whatever jealousy I may have of the English. This particular surprized me much; for from what, that I have said, does this jealousy appear? And who has reported such a falsehood to you? It is proper that you should make due enquiry into this affair. I have before wrote to the Governor, of the proceedings of your dependents; and it is the way of the world, that amongst fathers and sons, brothers, friends and intimates, differences will sometimes arise, but soon give place to friendship and benevolence; nor were any of these matters of such consequence, that from them you should suspect my sincerity, and
send

send me a message so different from the rules and language of friendship.

You are pleased to say, there are mischievous and malevolent men, who propagate scandalous stories of you, gentlemen. I have before wrote repeatedly, that whatever villain, in my counsels, dare speak ill of you before me, the moment he were known, he should be punished. Now if such an one is known to you, gentlemen, write me his name, that I may make an example of him. Many new factories have been established in every part of the country, both on the Company's account, and by private gentlemen; and a trade carried on in all sorts of goods, such as it was never yet the custom to trade in. To this day, neither I nor my people, have ever offered them the least obstruction, nor caused them the loss of one rupee. It grieves me, that without cause or enquiry, you, gentlemen, suffer such suspicions to take place in your hearts, and declare them to me, your friend. What it is belonging to yourselves, that is continually

tinually speaking ill of me, propagating calumnies against me, and representing me to you as your enemy, is not unknown to you. The acts of violence committed by Mr. Ellis before my face; the insults on my people, and the disturbances raised in the country; my authority rendered contemptible to all Indostan; and obstructions thrown in the way of every business of the government, in the province of Bahar. All these have I fully represented in my letters to Mr. Vansittart from the beginning till now, nor shall I dwell on such a subject afresh; because I am well persuaded, that Mr. Vansittart, and the gentlemen of the Council will make a strict enquiry into this affair, and bring to condign punishment whoever, without cause or reason, has acted as my enemy; that, for the future, no one may give interruption to my business, nor interfere in the affairs of my government. Until you make enquiry into his behavior, and bring him to punishment, my authority will never be established.

You

YOU say, I should look upon the friendship and treaties of Englishmen as sincere and inviolable. I have been long convinced, gentlemen, that our friendship would by no means be interrupted; and in spite of the mischievous slanders of malicious men, the foundations of our amity would be unshaken; because I know for certain, that the English never break their treaties and agreements, and that all their enquiries are sincere and impartial."

As this reply taxed Mr. Ellis by name, with being the author of all the animosities then subsisting between him and the Council, and in terms which left no room for any future reconciliation, Mr. Hastings (that the first design of his visit might not be frustrated in the beginning) prevailed upon the Nabob to consent, that he should defer sending it to the Board, till he had written to Mr. Ellis, and sounded his disposition with respect to the means of putting an end to the difference between them.

them. He accordingly wrote to Mr. Ellis the following letter.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Hastings to Mr. Ellis. Dated Serfaram, May 13, 1762.

“**I**T was a disappointment to me, that I could not see you at Patna before I proceeded to the Nabob’s camp. You cannot be ignorant of the commission which I have received from the Board, with which my inclinations so heartily concur, that I should have eagerly embraced every occasion to create a good understanding between the Nabob and every person employed in any part of consequence under the Company; knowing how essential such a temper is to the success of our affairs, I was in hopes, that a meeting with you might have enabled me the more effectually to promote this design, as you could have instructed me with the causes of the late disagreements between yourself and the Nabob; and pointed out such expedients, as were the most likely to remedy them.”

YOUR motives for denying me that opportunity (which, though but as a compliment due to a member of your own Board, I might have expected) are best known to yourself. However, setting aside all personal considerations, I am yet willing to give you and the world a proof of my desire to remove every occasion of distrust or dissension which may disturb the public affairs, in offering you freely my assistance, to promote a better disposition between the Nabob and yourself, than I find at present subsisting.

I WILL not conceal from you, that he charges you with attempting to breed a disagreement between him and the Company; and has declared it in his reply to the message, which I carried him from the Board.

I CONFESS, I am not pleased to interfere in such a subject; but would rather wish to conciliate matters, were it in my power. For this reason, I have deferred delivering the Nabob's reply in my letters to the Board, till I receive

ceive your answer, with which I hope to be soon favored."

To this Letter Mr. Ellis made the following Reply. Dated Singia, May 17, 1762.

"I AM this moment favored with yours of the 13th. It was impossible for me to know, that our meeting was in any degree necessary, unless you had told me so; for to this time I am no further acquainted with what commission you have received from the Board, than what was once mentioned in a private letter, viz. to remove the Nabob's jealousies; neither do I think any member of the Board could reasonably expect that I should pay him the compliment of travelling fifteen miles at this season, when he never advised me of his approach; without which I could be at no certainty, either as to the time of his arrival, or stay at Patna; and indeed common report informed me, of your having set out for the Nabob's camp some days before it seems you did.

THE laudable desire you express, of removing every occasion of distrust or disagreement that may disturb the public affairs, be assured, shall meet with every assistance in my power; nor can you wish more ardently for the effecting so good a work than I do myself. The causes of the Nabob's late behavior I cannot account for, unless it be, my not having concurred in sentiment with those gentlemen who raised him to the musnud. From the time of my taking charge of the Company's affairs in this province, I have ever been solicitous to keep up a harmony and good understanding, not only with the Nabob, but his officers; they on the contrary have been most industrious to destroy it. Twice has the city of Patna been alarmed with a report, that the English intended to attack it; and in consequence thereof, guns mounted, guards augmented, gates shut, and admittance denied to every one belonging to the factory; and all this without the least plausible pretence whatever being given. The falsehoods in-

dustriously

industriously propagated of my design to take Mongheer you can be no stranger to, nor the ridiculous light in which they appear. On all occasions the English are represented as the Nabob's greatest enemies; and it is notorious, that no man who values his favor dares appear in the factory.

THE Nabob accuses me of attempting to breed a disagreement between him and the Company; after what he has accused other gentlemen of, nothing of this kind is surprizing. However, a general charge amounts to very little. This term he has given, without any grounds, to my seizing Coja Antoon. I had before made repeated complaints to him of the interruption given our business; which being little or not at all regarded, it became a duty incumbent on me to take other measures, for securing one of the most valuable branches of the Company's commerce. Of the insults received in the seizure, detention, and loss of my boats, I have acquainted you; as likewise the affront the Nabob has given me, in not

answering my letters; but notwithstanding the first or second instance of this kind, I continued writing to him on business, till my hircaras were ill treated in his camp.

THE first grand step towards obtaining the desired end, will be for the Nabob to remove from about his person all those who at present poison his mind with false and idle stories. Let him esteem the English as his best and only friends, and as such place an entire confidence in them. If any cause of disgust appears, let him apply to those who are intrusted with the management of the Company's affairs to have the matter cleared up, which he may always be assured of. For my own part, I shall never do any thing, but what I will assert to him and the world; and I appeal to Rajebullub, or any other person in office at Patna, whether upon any complaint being lodged against our servants under my jurisdiction, I have not given them a speedy and ample satisfaction; and all I desire is, that they would act in the same

same manner towards the servants of the government who insult and treat us ill. This would create a mutual confidence, and put an end to the present dissensions."

IT is plain from this letter, that Mr. Ellis thought of nothing less than a peaceable accommodation; and to attempt it any longer might only serve to make matters yet worse, by adding fuel to the mutual resentment already sufficiently inflamed. Mr. Hastings therefore judged it needless and improper to oppose any longer the Nabob's desire; that his reply should be sent to the Board. He accordingly dispatched it with the following letter, and sent Mr. Ellis a copy of the part of it, which concerned him, inclosed in a letter, which he wrote to him at the same time, of which I shall also insert an extract.

A NARRATIVE of the

*Copy of a Letter from Mr. Hastings to
the Governor and Council. Dated Jamr
more, May 24, 1762.*

UPON my arrival at the Nabob's camp, I informed him of the substance of my instructions, and added such assurances, as I judged most conducive to remove any distrust that might have arisen in his mind. His reply I have the honor to transmit to you, in the inclosed paper, which I received from him, signed with his own hand; and I shall wait your further commands for my conduct, in relation to the matters contained therein.

I WILL not take upon me to judge of the disputes which have arisen between the Nabob and Mr. Ellis; nor am I properly qualified to give my sentiments upon them, being as yet only acquainted with the complaints of the former. But I think I cannot better acquit myself of the task which you have enjoined me, and which my duty to the service requires from me, than by offering

ing my opinion in general, that in all differences between the Company's servants, or inferior agents, and the government, if proper justice cannot be obtained from the Nabob, or those authorised to act under him, application should be made to the Board, and no person be allowed on any pretence to use violent means for the redress of his own grievances; this method, till lately, has been constantly and universally observed in all our concerns, not only before the restoration of the Company's privileges, but by those who have since had the administration of their affairs, and who will hardly be suspected of having neglected the honor of the nation, or the interest of their employers. In effect, it is only by reserving to yourselves the privilege of deciding on all matters of contention, that the authority of the Board can be maintained, or the publick tranquillity secured."

*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Hastings
to Mr. Ellis. Dated Jammore, May
27, 1762.*

HAD your reply to my first letter contained any circumstance that would have served to remove the unfavorable opinion, which the Nabob has conceived of you, from the late contests between you, I should gladly have pursued the sentiments with which I undertook my present commission, and have endeavored to persuade the Nabob, to omit the mention of your name, in his reply to the message which I brought him from the Board. But as you have proposed nothing but what, if insisted upon, would have widened the breach, instead of closing it, and all his letters to the Governor have been filled with complaints of your behavior, which he has declared he will not retract, I have left him to pursue the dictates of his own resentment. This complaint having been sent through my hands, I will declare open with you, as to give you this

this timely notice of it, by sending you an extract of that part of his letter which concerns yourself."

To these I will add some other letters of my correspondence with Mr. Hastings, which relate to the disputes between the Nabob and Mr. Ellis, and shew the pains ineffectually taken to make peace between them.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Governor. Serfaram, May 13, 1762.

"I DESIRED Mr. Ironside to inform you yesterday of our arrival at Serfaram on the 9th instant. I proceeded directly to the Nabob's tent. He received me with great politeness, and enquired in a friendly manner after your health. This visit passed only in general conversation. The next evening I opened to him the subject of my commission from the Board, which I gave him in writing, and pretty nearly in the correspondent words of the letter, the postscript

script excepted, which I read to him from the original, and (not without some difficulty) explained to him.

He expressed much dissatisfaction, that he should be charged with entertaining a jealousy of the English, which he said, argued some misbehavior in him towards them, as the consequence of such sentiments ; and challenged me to mention one instance of his having betrayed a want of confidence in the Company, or deviated from the treaty with them. It is true, he added, he had frequent subject of complaint against the English dependents ; but that made no alteration in his engagements with their principals, or his particular obligations to you. He was as little pleased with the assertion, that the people about his person had given occasion to any difference between him and the English. He desired that they might be named, and declared, that on whomsoever such a fact was proved, he would put him to death. But (proceeded he) “ If you are yet at a loss to know who it is amongst yourselves, that

that strives to create a misunderstanding between us, I will name him. It is Mr. Ellis, who, by his acts of violence committed on my servants, and the unprovoked attacks, which he is daily making upon my authority, has not only given encouragement to my enemies, and the disaffected people in my own service, but has given occasion to such reports to the discredit of my government, at the court of Shuja Dowla, as might be of the worst consequence to my affairs."

WITH regard to Mr. Ellis, I am at a loss how to act; his behavior, in my opinion, has been so imprudent, and his disaffection to the Nabob so manifestly inveterate, that a proper representation of it, cannot fail to draw upon him the severest resentment of the Company. But besides my aversion to violent measures, the length of time before the Company's notice of these affairs could reach us, and the support that the most glaring misconduct in him would meet with from a majority of the Board, have inclined me rather to make choice of
such

such means, as may be more likely to conciliate, than inflame our mutual animosities. With this view I have wrote to Mr. Ellis a letter, of which the inclosed is a copy, and will acquaint you with his answer. If he accepts of my offer, I will do him every good office that I can with the Nabob. If he declines it, I will not only let the Nabob pursue his own measures, but will even join him, in endeavoring to confute the aspersions which have been made use of, to ruin his credit with the Company."

Extract of a Letter from the Governor to Mr. Hastings. Dated May 26, 1762.

"I HAD the pleasure to receive this morning your favor of the 13th. The Nabob's answer to the representations you made him on the part of the Board, is exactly uniform with all his former declarations, in regard to the disputes that have arisen between him and Mr. Ellis; and this uniformity is a strong proof with me, that he speaks with a good conscience, and has reason on his side.

side. However, as I love peace and quietness, and have learnt to make allowances for the different tempers and passions of different men, I approve entirely of your endeavors to conciliate matters between the Nabob and Mr. Ellis, and wish, that the last may accept of your good offices; if not, you can do no otherwise than represent fully to the Board, the Nabob's answer to the subject-matter of your instructions."

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Governor. Dated Jammore, May 26, 1762.

"**T**HE world, judging only from facts, sees the Nabob's authority publicly insulted; his officers imprisoned; seepoys sent against his forts; and is told, that the chief of the English, in these parts, disavows the Nabob's right to the Subahship. The obvious end of such symptoms is an open rupture. The Nabob's enemies receive encouragement from this hope; and the traitors about his person, use it as an argument

argument to them to persist in their revolt. Shuja Dowla is informed, that the English have actually commenced hostilities with the Nabob; nor need I take notice how fatal such a notion might prove to the Nabob and to us, was not Shuja Dowla too much engaged with other designs, to take advantage of the weakness of this government.

WHEN I accepted of this commission, I pleased myself with the hopes of being an instrument of reconciling all differences between the Nabob and the English, and putting an end to all animosities. This I now find an impossible task; the gentlemen who have taken upon them to condemn his promotion, have too publicly proclaimed their disapprobation of that measure, and their hatred to the Nabob, which have been repeated to him, probably with exaggerations. He has been told, that Messrs. Amyatt, Ellis, and Carnac, have in their letters to their * friends in England,

* The Nabob's expression was, that they had wrote to the Company, which, at this time, neither

land, used every argument to procure an order from the Company, to annul the measures taken in favor of him ; and represented his character in the most hateful terms ; that Mr. Fullerton was also charged to assist in person their project of deposing him ; and that they have sworn together to his ruin ; that they have discovered a flaw in his title to the Subahship from our treaty, &c. &c. True or false, the Nabob has received these stories from their intimate acquaintance, who may have forged a part, but could not have invented the whole."

I HAD always flattered myself with the hopes, that the Company's approbation of the revolution in favour of Meer Cossim would have been such, as to have restrained the designs of the party formed against him ; and

ther Mr. Hastings nor I had any conception of, as no such letter had passed thro' the usual channel ; but it seems he meant the letter which had been written privately by those gentlemen, and some others of the Council, to the Select Committee in England ; which has since appeared in print.

these hopes were greatly encouraged by the letter which arrived in the month of April; but the second, which arrived not till a month after, was expressed in such ambiguous terms, as might easily be construed by a party spirit into a disapprobation of it.

THE following are extracts of both letters.

Extract of the Company's general Letter to Bengal. Dated June 19, 1761.

“UPON perusal of the said several letters and papers, we have the agreeable satisfaction of finding, that the great revolution in the Subahship therein-mentioned, has been and is likely to prove greatly advantageous to the Company. We have not now time to enter into any particulars on this happy event; and can therefore only recommend, and leave it to you, to act in such manner as shall be most for the Company's interest.

WE clearly see, that this revolution has been happily brought about, principally

pally by the good conduct and address of our President Vansittart; and we accordingly sincerely and heartily return him our thanks for his great services, and disinterested behavior on this occasion."

Extract of the Company's general Letter to Bengal. Dated September 30, 1761.

"**T**HIS is the third revolution in Bengal, wherein the very being of the Company has been, and from their consequences may still be at a stake. Your advancing Jaffier Allee Cawn to the Subahship, in the room of Serajah Dowla, was undoubtedly a necessary measure, as well for the good of the country in general, as the interest of the Company in particular. Your afterwards deposing Jaffier Allee Cawn, and setting Cossim Allee Cawn in his room, we hope also was done with the same view. Upon this presumption and confidence, that no other motives whatsoever had any influence upon you. We must look on the measures pursued on this occasion as unavoidable; at the same time we

cannot help observing, that it is by the great regard the Company have always had to a faithful observance of their agreements, they have acquired and hitherto preserved a reputation with the natives of India. We could have wished therefore the situation of affairs would have admitted keeping terms with Jaffier Allee Cawn, that even the least handle for a pretence might not have been offered to prejudiced people, to make use of to throw any reflection upon the transaction."

THE gentlemen who had joined against the Nabob, did not fail to turn this last paragraph to their own purpose; publishing it throughout the country with their own interpretations, and confidently declaring, that the next step would be an entire disavowal of his promotion, with orders in consequence to restore Meer Jaffier. These declarations soon reached the Nabob's ears, as no doubt was intended; and Mr. Hastings advised me of the effect that it had upon

on

on the Nabob very soon after in the following letter.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Governor. Dated Mongheer, July 14, 1762.

“ I INFORMED you some time ago, that the natural inference which might be drawn from the extract of the last letter from the Company, was so little in favor of the Nabob, or the late revolution, that I had evaded giving him a translation of it; and only told him, that the Company had applauded the measures which had been taken in his promotion, and recommended the strictest union and harmony with the new Nabob, for a prevention of the like necessity, and for the credit of our faith. Not many days after, the Nabob himself repeated to me the whole substance of that extract with such hightenings, as a party spirit would naturally give to it; and told me, that Mr. Ellis had declared, that this disapprobation of the revolution would be followed by an order from the

Company to overlook it ; and that he expected great changes when the next ship arrived. The Nabob's good sense made it no difficult matter for me to satisfy him how improbable such an event was ; but I mention this only to shew, how every occasion is caught at, to support the credit of an inveterate faction ; and I suppose this will hardly be attributed to the Nabob's invention, or that of the people about him."

ALTHOUGH the many endeavors used to accommodate the differences between the Nabob and Mr. Ellis had proved ineffectual ; and I saw I had it not in my power to give the Nabob any satisfaction for the injuries complained of, I was desirous of trying the only expedient yet left, that of engaging the Nabob to forget what was passed, and could not be remedied ; and, on the other hand, to engage Mr. Ellis, to live on better terms for the future, and refrain from renewing the disputes by fresh provocations. With this view I proposed to the Board,

to make an application to this effect to the Nabob, through Mr. Hastings; and to give fresh injunctions to Mr. Ellis, which was accordingly done in the following letters.

*Copy of a Letter from the Governor and Council (Messrs. Vansittart, * M'Gwire and Hay) to Mr. Hastings. Dated July 8, 1762.*

“ **W**E have received a letter from Mr. Ellis, advising us of the Nabob's refusal of his visit; and the President at the same time acquainted us with the reasons the Nabob gave you for this refusal. We have received also another letter from Mr. Ellis of the 25th, advising us, that Rajah Nobit Roy, upon his appointment to the Neabut of the Bahar province, was forbid by the Nabob to pay him the usual compliment of a visit. The sum of the Nabob's reasons is this, that having had indignities offered him by Mr. Ellis, and having made

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* Who was just at this time restored to the service.

publick complaints against him, he thought it would be absurd to receive a friendly visit from him. We mentioned in our last letter to you, the reasons given by Mr. Ellis for those proceedings, of which the Nabob so much complains, viz. his sending seepoys to Mongheer, and his seizing Coja Antoon. We shall not now repeat those reasons, as it is not our intention to call to mind old subjects of dispute, but rather to shew the Nabob, through your means, the necessity of forgetting them, and endeavoring to establish a general good understanding.

WE may say, both of the Nabob and Mr. Ellis, that they have been too ready to give credit to reports injurious to each other; and this it is easy to see has been the reason why things of themselves, of little consequence, have been made objects of such violent contests. If facts are thus exaggerated by reports, in the compass of these provinces, what may we not expect to be said of them in other parts of Indostan? Certainly nothing

thing less, than that the disputes between the Nabob and the English chief at Patna, foretell a breach of the friendship between the two governments ; and this may encourage his enemies and ours to attempts, which otherwise they would not dare to meditate ; nay, this has always been the Nabob's own argument, and a very just one, altho' he now seems to consider it a private quarrel between him and Mr. Ellis ; we think it can by no means be regarded in this light, because in its consequences it must affect the public ; for if such a rooted ill-will between the Nabob, and one of the Company's principal servants, is suffered to prevail, the evil cannot but increase, and the flame spread daily ; more of the dependents of each government will insensibly adopt the motives of each party ; and a succession of prejudiced minds will arise, prepared to take every opportunity of fomenting the quarrel, and rendering it at length irreconcilable. We desire therefore that you will use your utmost endeavors, by the arguments which
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we have now mentioned, and all others, that may occur to dispose the Nabob seriously and heartily to do his part, towards the dispelling of all animosities ; we have as strenuously recommended to Mr. Ellis to do his part, so that we hope a cordial and friendly intercourse may in future subsist between them.

BUT should this, contrary to our hopes, be found impracticable, we shall at least expect, that the disputes between them be so far accommodated, as to be concealed from the world ; and that all the usual ceremonies, and publick marks of respect, be reciprocally paid and received. So much is absolutely necessary both for the Nabob's reputation and the Company's ; and we may add, that the safety and tranquility of the Nabob's government is more particularly concerned. Mr. Ellis, by proposing a visit to the Nabob, on his arrival at Patna, paid the respect due from his station to the rank of the Subah ; and we hope the Nabob, after having this our advice explained to him, will not again omit the

the compliment due from him to a member of this Board."

Copy of a Letter from the Governor and Council (Mef. Vansittart, M'Gwire and Hay) to Mr. Ellis. Dated July 8, 1762.

"**W**E have received your letters of the 23d and 25th instant; the first advising of the Nabob's refusing your visit; the other of his forbidding Nobit Roy, to pay you that compliment upon his appointment to the Neabut of the Bahar province. Mr. Hastings transmitted to the President, by the Nabob's desire, his reasons for refusing your visit; of these we send you a copy, and purposely avoid entering into any debate upon them; as instead of recalling to mind past disputes, we are endeavoring to shew the Nabob and you, the necessity of having them entirely forgot, and a general good harmony established.

ENCLOSED we send you a copy of our instructions to Mr. Hastings on this subject.

ject. The reasons therein contained, will convince you how much the tranquility of the country, and consequently the good of the Company, is interested, in putting an end to these animosities. An intercourse between the Nabob and you, so far as it regards your public characters, is absolutely necessary, and we shall always insist on it; but we wish for more, and strenuously recommend to you to let nothing be wanting, on your part, to establish a hearty friendship between you."

MR. Ellis, instead of complying with so salutary an advice, persisted always in the same violent sentiments, and wrote the following answer to the Board.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Ellis to the Governor and Council. Dated July 23, 1762.

"I HAVE been favored with yours of the 8th, inclosing an extract of Mr. Hastings's letter to the President, and a copy of your instructions to that gentleman, which I sincerely wish may have the

the desired effect ; but fear the Nabob has acted too long without controul, to listen now to any advice however salutary.

THOUGH I never hope to be on a footing of friendship or intimacy with the Nabob, yet knowing how necessary it was for the Company's affairs, and more particularly so for his own, to save appearances, I did not think he would have refused an interview, which, instead of occasioning a quarrel, as he absurdly observes, might perhaps have laid the foundation of a future good understanding ; but it seems he can construe the occasion of complaints that have arisen, either into a public concern, or a private quarrel with Mr. Ellis, as may best suit his own conveniency.

ANY overtures that the Nabob may make towards a reconciliation I shall readily embrace ; but after the manner in which I have been treated by him, none can come from me, without being greatly derogatory to the public character I have at present the honor to bear.

RAJAH

RAJAH Nabit Roy has been permitted to pay me the compliment of a visit, which I have returned."

A RECIPROCAL animosity, which carried itself to such public acts of violence, but too loudly proclaimed itself to the world; and it was soon known, or at least universally believed, that a party was formed amongst the English, and that a very powerful one, whose aim was to overthrow the Nabob; and the frequent quarrels raised with him, were looked upon as the effects of that design. As upon such occasions, the dependents never fail to adopt the sentiments of their superiors, nothing was heard of all over the country but outcries on the one hand, against the tyranny and oppressions of the English and their gomastahs; and on the other, against the insolence and encroachments of the Nabob and his officers. Hence arose a fresh matter of contention, more dangerous than any of the past, because it was not confined to one place, nor regarded mere points of

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of honor, but was diffused throughout the whole country, and touched the tenderest part of self-interest on both sides, the very being of the Nabob's government, and the freedom of the English commerce. In effect, this proved the crisis of the long depending contest; and became, from the violence with which it was carried on, the cause of the rupture which the party so earnestly wished for, little attending to the unhappy consequences which it might, and which I am sorry to say, it actually did produce. This became the subject of many of the letters which passed between Mr. Hastings and me, whilst he remained with the Nabob, some of the most material are here selected.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Governor. Dated Bauglepoor, April 25, 1762.

* **I** BEG leave to lay before you a grievance, which loudly calls for redress, and will, unless duly attended to, render ineffectual any endeavors to create

create a firm and lasting harmony between the Nabob and the Company. I mean, the oppressions committed under the sanction of the English name, and through the want of spirit in the Nabob's subjects to oppose them. This evil, I am well assured, is not confined to our dependents alone, but is practised all over the country, by people falsely assuming the habits of our seepoys, or calling themselves our gomastahs. As on such occasions the great power of the English intimidates the people from making any resistance; so, on the other hand, the indolence of the Bengalees, or the difficulty of gaining access to those who might do them justice, prevents our having knowledge of the oppressions, and encourages their continuance, to the great, though unmerited scandal of our government.

I HAVE been surprized to meet with several English flags flying in places which I have passed; and on the river, I do not believe that I passed a boat without one. By whatever title they have

have been assumed (for I could only trust to the information of my eyes, without stopping to ask questions) I am sure their frequency can bode no good to the Nabob's revenues, the quiet of the country, or the honor of our nation, but evidently tends to lessen each of them.

A PARTY of seepoys, who were on the march before us, afforded sufficient proofs of the rapacious and insolent spirit of those people, where they are left to their own discretion. Many complaints against them were made me on the road; and most of the petty towns and serais were deserted at our approach, and the shops shut up, from the apprehensions of the same treatment from us.

YOU are sensible, Sir, that it is from such little irregularities, too trivial perhaps for public complaint, and continually repeated, that the country people are habituated to entertain the most unfavorable notions of our government; and by them the English credit suffers much more than by matters which are

made of greater consequence in the debates between the Nabob and us.

You have already pointed out one method, by which the truth of the complaints against our gomastahs, may be inquired into and redressed, which I shall not fail to represent in a proper manner to the Nabob. But nothing I fear will reach the root of these evils, till some certain boundary be fixed between the Nabob's authority and our privileges.

WAS I to suppose myself in the place of the Nabob, I should not be at a loss in what manner to protect my own subjects or servants from insults; but whilst the principle prevails, that no point (however little beneficial to ourselves) is to be given up to the Nabob; and that his authority upon every occasion should be checked for the security of our own, I should hardly venture to propose to any one, besides yourself, to restrain the power of our gomastahs, to the immediate concerns of the Company or their servants, to which we ourselves are limited by our firman, and our treaty

ty with the Nabob ; and where any persons, assuming the English name, are guilty of acts of violence or oppression to any of the Nabob's subjects, and within his jurisdiction, that the magistrate take such measures as his office, and the matter in question, may require for preventing them, without making any distinction in such cases betwixt our agents, and the dependents of the government.

As the power of executing justice must be lodged somewhere, and our servants, if injured, have always the means of appealing, we may be certain, that the magistrates will be very cautious how they give any such cause for complaint, as may endanger their dismissal, which should be insisted on as the slightest punishment for any notorious perversion of justice.

WITH regard to the abuse of our flag, in defrauding the government of its duties, I know no method so likely to prove effectual, as those which have been repeatedly recommended, and which it is needless for me to mention.

I SHALL forbear saying any thing fully to the Nabob, concerning the complaints against our people, till I am favored with your further opinion on this subject, that I may know from thence how far I am to proceed towards settling this point with the Nabob, and preventing all future differences, that may arise from the present uncertain and perplexed situation of affairs."

Extract of a Letter from the Governor to Mr. Hastings. Dated May 2, 1762.

"SINCE I wrote you last, I have been favored with yours of the 18th of April from Dewanferai, 23d from Shahabad, and 25th from Bauglepoor. The observations contained in the last, concerning the unjust authority exercised all over the country in the English name, deserve immediate attention. Indeed I have always thought it a great grievance, injurious to the Nabob in his revenues and government, and to us in our reputation. You know too that I have done all in my power to remedy it. I have frequently

frequently requested of the Nabob, to make the Drogas of the Chokeys do their duty more carefully, and oblige every boat to produce my dustuck, or that of the chief of one of our factories; and where no dustuck appears, to stop them till they pay the customs.

THE Nabob wrote me, that the Drogas of his Chokeys were afraid to stop a boat with English colors, and that the peons in the boats would not stop. Whereupon I sent him, according to his request, thirty dustucks, or orders under my hand and seal, importing, that all boats should be stopped, and either produce their dustuck, or pay the duties.

VERY likely the Drogas of the Chokeys are unfit for their office; they should be men capable of distinguishing a real dustuck from a counterfeit, and of judging, by the date, whether it has been already returned, and fallaciously made use of a second time; to prevent which, an indorsement should be made at every Chokey upon every dustuck that passes; and where a boat carries English colors,

without having a dustuck, it should be stopped, and the property particularly enquired into; and if it is found to belong to a subject of the Nabob, I think he would do right to confiscate the whole; if to a subject of ours, the Drogga should send it back with a guard to the first English factory, with a letter to the chief, desiring, that the flag might be taken away, and the proprietor, person, or manglee, who was guilty of the abuse, punished. I really can think of no other precautions for putting a stop to this evil, unless it be to place Chokeys of my own at convenient distances, with writers furnished with the above-mentioned instructions for examining the dustucks, &c. and which, if the Nabob thinks it will be useful, I am ready to do at such places as he shall point out.

THE number of boats should likewise be compared with the dustuck, and the quantity of goods, in each boat, examined with as much exactitude as the nature of them will admit; and where it is found to exceed the quantity mentioned

tioned in the dastuck, the overplus should be confiscated.

THIS extravagant power, set up by our gomastahs in many parts of the country, is an abuse equally demanding redress; and it would be but just and fair, to desire the Nabob to order his fousedars, and other officers, to take cognizance of these irregularities, and prevent by force (if necessary) their interfering in any affairs of the government. Could these fousedars and other officers be depended on; and we be assured they would not make use of that force to take away the weavers, and otherwise impede the Company's business, I should immediately advise and consent to this measure, which indeed is the natural, and I fear the only effectual remedy, and is what the Nabob has an undoubted right to do. I will try what effect a fresh and strict order to all our gomastahs and subordinates may have towards preventing their interfering in the affairs of the country; and let the Nabob order his officers to be full and particular in re-

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presenting to me any circumstances of their misbehavior, directing them at the same time not to suffer the gomastahs, or their peons, to seize or judge between any inhabitants of the country, excepting the Company's weavers, nor to take any officers in the country, as Izardars, Wadaars, &c. These I hope may be some steps towards redressing this grievance ; and let the Nabob's officers, on their part, be cautioned not to oppress the Company's weavers, or in any manner interrupt their business.

I WILL order a list to be given of all the Company's gomastahs, with the places of their residence, from Calcutta and all the subordinates. These may be permitted to have each a flag at the place of their residence, but all other English gomastahs shall be forbid to set up flags in any part of the country.

AN order is already made and published, forbidding any Europeans from going up the country, without first applying for leave to the President and Council, and giving security for their
good

good behavior, and that they will not meddle in the affairs of the country. At the same time we have directed lists to be given, of all that are at present in the country, by the gentlemen who employ them ; and the same order we have sent to all the subordinates, and all who cannot produce security for their good behavior, shall be called away. These regulations I had an opportunity of forwarding, upon a complaint made against one Mr. Ivie, at Raugegunge, who is ordered down to Calcutta, for pretending to decide causes between the inhabitants.

READ all this letter to the Nabob, and assure him, I will do what more may be necessary, to give him full authority over his government."

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Hastings to the Governor. Serfaram, May 18, 1762.

“**I** EXPLAINED to the Nabob what you wrote to me concerning the abuse of the English name and authority, and the expedients proposed for their removal, which I extracted from your letter, and gave him written under the following heads.

FIRST, That strict orders be given to the Drogas of the Chokeys, to require every English boat that passes to produce a dustuck, under the seal of the government, or any chief of the subordinate factories; and in case of a refusal, that they compel the boats to bring to.

SECOND, That every boat with English colors, and not having a dustuck, be stopped; and if the goods be English property, that notice be given to the chief of the nearest factory, that it may be enquired into; but if it be a property of a subject of the sircar, that the Nabob

bob take what notice of it he may think proper.

THIRD, That strict orders be given to the officers and fougedars of the fircar, if any English gomastah commit any act of oppression, or interfere in the affairs of the government, to forbid them; and if they refuse to hear reason, to use force to make them desist.

FOURTH, That strict orders have been sent from the Presidency, that none of the gomastahs, or servants of the factories, intermeddle with the affairs of the government; and that the officers of the fircar be likewise strictly enjoined, not to obstruct the Company's business, or oppress the people employed in it.

FIFTH, That no grants of wadadarrees, farms, or other offices of the government, be allowed to the Company's gomastahs.

SIXTH, That the Company's gomastahs shall be allowed an English flag at the place of their residence; but no private gomastahs shall have an English flag,

flag, or assume any distinction from the English name.

SEVENTH, That, by an order from the Presidency, no European shall be employed in the country without a permission from the Board ; and giving security, that he will not interfere in any affairs of the government.

UPON the two first heads the Nabob remarked, that it was to no purpose for him to give such orders to his officers, though backed with your dustucks, since both have proved ineffectual to restrain the presumption of our people, who seldom chuse to produce their dustucks ; and if the officer acts as his duty requires him, a complaint is instantly sent to the next factory of the insolence of the Chokeys, the indignity offered to our flag, and the infringement of our dustucks ; seepoys are dispatched to seize the offender ; and others, dreading the like treatment, let pass all boats indiscriminately, and amongst them many that have no dustucks.

IN the third article I have deviated a little from your instructions; as I believe you will be convinced, that the gomastahs are not to be kept in awe by threats alone; but some coercive power must be allowed the magistrates, without which the gomastahs, knowing the difficulty of finding out the truth of facts so remote from our enquiries, will be continually intermeddling in matters which do not concern them. I make no doubt, but the officers of the government will be tempted, as they have many times done, to abuse their authority; but the Company's business, and the English name, will suffer less by a few instances of this kind, than by the unlimited power so often assumed by our agents. An example made of the first attempts of the magistrates to oppress our people will intimidate others; but to have every little grievance on either side referred to the Nabob or yourself, will be a source of perpetual disagreement, and the enquiries will be found so perplexed, that I doubt, if any redress will be obtained on either side.

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NOTWITHSTANDING this alteration, the proposal is not satisfactory to the Nabob, as long as a power is lodged with the gentlemen of our factories, on every complaint of the gomastahs, to send out parties of seepoys, against such as they pretend have misbehaved to them. This evil is therefore first to be redressed.

To the fifth, the Nabob gives his entire assent; and desires, that the gomastahs, and all others under our protection, be forbid to take or solicit offices under the government, which he has found very detrimental to the peace of the country.

THE sixth, I hope, expresses your intention, as the private gomastahs have no need of the protection of the English name, to carry on their business at the Aurungs, nor can claim any privilege above other traders, besides that of bringing away their goods when provided with the Company's duffuck.

To these the Nabob desired another article might be added, though implicitly included in the foregoing, viz. that
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the gomastahs shall not force their goods on his subjects against their will, or at their own prices, nor compel the workmen to provide goods for them at unreasonable rates ; but that every man be left at his own option to buy or sell, as he finds his advantage in either.

As the Nabob has no objection to any of the means which you have so often proposed, for preventing the disputes between his people and the Company's, but only to the want of a proper authority, to enforce the execution of them ; he desires, that whatever regulations you may judge necessary, for the above end, may be drawn up in form, and sent him with the seal of the Company ; and if your name added to it, be not sufficient to prevent future cavils, that it be signed likewise by the rest of the Council. Such a warrant will limit, beyond the possibility of a dispute, the extent of our privileges, and his authority, and point out the means, by which he may preserve his government entire, without incurring the imputation

tion of trampling on the rights of the Company."

Extract of a Letter from the Governor to Mr. Hastings. Dated June 27, 1762.

"**I**T is a natural right which the Nabob has, in common with all other governments, to prevent by force, if fair means fail, any injury being done to his subjects by any other persons. It would be almost absurd to give a consent to this by any public act, and perhaps not quite proper, for fear of encouraging too much the government's people, to exercise this right sometimes in an unjust cause. But wherever unlawful attempts are made by our people, the officers of the government must prevent them, by fair means, if possible; if not, oppose them by force, and it is what no reasonable man can complain of."

I HAVE chosen to insert these letters, because they will shew that the regulations, which I afterwards agreed upon with the Nabob, were not hastily resolved

solved upon, but were the result of a long consideration, and the strongest necessity. In the month of June the Nabob came to Mongheer, where he fixed his quarters for the rains ; and Mr. Hastings then took leave of him, and returned to Calcutta.

HERE the Nabob, being more at leisure to attend to the complaints of his officers and subjects of the overgrown power assumed by the English agents and gomastahs, I daily received letters from him on those subjects. I shall here insert some of the letters from the Nabob and his officers, in which those grievances are set forth in the most striking colors.

Translation of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor. Received May 1762.

“ YOU write me, that there must be mischievous men about me, who by their slanders want to stir up enmity between me and the English gentlemen ; that I should search out those promoters of dissension, and bring them

to due punishment. Sir, from the time that I entered into an agreement with you, and marched out of the Bengal province to these parts, I never infringed the treaty by obstructing a single person, gentleman, or seepoy, or boat, or commodity of yours; nor have I sent a single peon for the customary commissions from the districts which I granted to the Company, but have entirely left off concerning myself about those districts, and have not once wrote to you on any affair relative to them: since then nothing has been done on my part, which might disturb the friendship and treaty subsisting between us, how can there be any room about my person for designing and mischievous men? And this is the way your gentlemen behave; they make a disturbance all over my country, plunder the people, injure and disgrace my servants, with a resolution to expose my government to contempt; and from the borders of Hindostan to Calcutta, make it their business to expose me to scorn. In every pergunah and every village,

village, they have established ten or twenty new factories, and setting up the colors, and shewing the dustucks of the Company, they use their utmost endeavors to oppress the reiat, merchants, and other people of the country. The dustucks for searching the boats, which you formerly favored me with, and which I sent to every chokey, the Englishmen by no means regard, but bring shame and disgrace upon my people, holding themselves in readiness to beat and abuse them. Having established these new factories, they carry on such business as the Company never heard of; and every Bengal gomastah makes a disturbance at every factory, and thinks himself not inferior to the Company. In every pergunah, every village, and every factory, they buy and sell salt, beetle-nut, ghee, rice, straw, bamboos, fish, gunnies, ginger, sugar, tobacco, opium, and many other things, more than I can write, and which I think it needless to mention. They forcibly take away the goods and commodities of the reiat,

merchants, &c. for a fourth part of their value ; and by ways of violence and oppressions, they oblige the reiat, &c. to give five rupees for goods which are worth but one rupee ; and for the sake of five rupees, they bind and disgrace an Affammee*, who pays me one hundred rupees *malguzarree* † ; and they allow not any authority to my servants. Near four or five hundred new factories have been established in my dominions ; and it is impossible to express what disturbances are made in every factory, and how the inhabitants are oppressed. The officers of every district have desisted from the exercise of their functions ; so that by means of these oppressions, and my being deprived of my duties, I suffer a yearly loss of near twenty-five lacks of rupees. In this case, how can I keep clear of debts ? How can I provide for the payment of my tribute to the king, and for the expences of my army and my household ? In the *perganah* of Dinagepoor, of which I have appointed

* A person on whom a claim is made, a dependant.
 † The rents, or land-tax.

pointed and sent Ramnaut Bahdree collector; besides the old factory, twenty new ones have been established in one gunge *. I have sent for your information a list, specifying the number of the factories, and the names of the gomastahs, which I received from the said collector. And every one of these gomastahs has such a power, that he imprisons the collector, and deprives him of all authority whenever he pleases. Therefore I desire you will speedily put a stop to this method of buying and selling straw, bamboos, &c. which the Company never practised. As I never interfere in any of the districts which I gave up to the Company, it is proper, that in like manner you and the chiefs, and other Englishmen, should not interfere in any of the districts which, by your favor, belong to me. By the grace of God, I neither have transgressed, nor do, nor will transgress the treaty and agreement which I have made; why then do the chiefs of the Englishmen render my government contemptible, and em-

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* A large market for grain.

ploy themselves in bringing a loss upon me? Be kind enough to take these matters into consideration without delay, for they expose my government to scorn, and are of the greatest detriment to me."

Translation of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor. Received in April 1762.

"**Y**OU write me, that "as the provinces are free from disturbance all men have engaged in trade; that this is a means of benefiting the reiate, and rendering the country populous; that I should fully inform you of the names of all such as lay aside their trade, and give interruption to my business, together with the particulars of their proceedings; and that you will punish them according to their deserts."

IT is true, that by the flourishing of trade, and the free intercourse of merchants, a country is rendered populous; but the gomastahs, who have gone into the country on the part of your gentlemen, regardless of what any one says to them, insolently use violent means to carry on their traffick;

traffick ; and whenever a gunge or golah has been established, they act as zemindars, taalookdars, and renters, and leave my officers no authority ; and besides this, they send other peoples goods with their own, under the protection of their dustucks. As you have desired me to write you the particulars of the oppressions of your gomastahs, after the arrival of Mr. Hastings, I will send you a circumstantial account of them."

Translation of a Letter from Syed Rejub Allee, Zemindar of Beerbazoo Pergannah. Received the Middle of the Year 1762.

"FROM the beginning, the Company's factory has been in Beelcoochy, and a cloth business has been carried on there ; and I do not neglect doing, to the utmost of my power, whatever the gomastahs of the factory desire, nor was any oppression practised. Whoever traded in copper, toothernague, or cotton, which was sent to the factory by the Company, traded freely, and at

the market price. Now from Calcutta, Dacca, Cheelmary, and Rangamatty, numbers of Englishmen and merchants, and the people of Monsieur Chevalier, &c. bring into the pergunah, copper, toothernague, cotton, tinkal, salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, rice, muggadooties, * Seringa-boats, lack, stick lack, dammar, dried fish, &c. and all these people, assuming the name of the Company, force the reiat, who never dealt in such commodities, to purchase them at an exorbitant price. Besides this, they violently exact large sums for presents, and for their peons expences, and take, at a low rate, whatever oil, &c. they buy. By means of these oppressions, the merchants, peons, reiat, &c. of the pergunah, have taken to flight, and the hauts†, gauts‡, gunges||, and golahs§, are entirely ruined. Moreover, they prevent the reiat from carrying on their business; they

* A large kind of canoo, made on the borders of Affam.

† A weekly market.

‡ A custom-house.

|| Wholesale markets.

§ Houses for grain.

they rob and plunder them wherever they meet them on the road; and giving colors and certificates to the merchants of the pergunah, who formerly paid duties, they will not suffer any to be taken from them; and the zemindars people, reverencing the name of the Company, cannot obstruct them. Thro' these oppressions, the revenues of the government have been absolutely ruined, and the Company's business obstructed. Being without redress, I send you a vackeel, with a representation of the state of the pergunah, he will inform you of all particulars. I hope, that regarding my distressed condition, you will send a seepoy, with a dustuck, to take my country under his protection; and will order the gomastahs of the Beelcoochy factory, to put a stop to the power of such as trade by force and oppressions; to make every one refund what profits he has exacted by violence; to put oppression and injustice to flight, and to have the Company's business carried on as formerly. I have acquainted the vackeel

vackeel with the particulars, and he will inform you of them."

*Translation of a Letter from Doolabram,
a Renter to the Nabob.*

"**T**HE trade of the salt and batty-wood, in the chuckla of Silhet, has for a long while been granted to me; in consideration of which, I pay a yearly rent * of 40,000 cawns of cowries; but now Mr. †, and Chandermun, and Coja Marcat, English gomastahs, having brought a large quantity of salt into the aforefaid chuckla, oblige my gomastahs, by force and oppression, to purchase it at an exorbitant price; and having, by violent means, taken the batty-wood trade into their own hands, they have put a stop to my business, whereby I suffer a very great loss. Yet the fougedar has oppressively exacted from me the usual rents, plundering my house, and forcing me from my home; and my gomastahs, by reason of the oppressions
of

* Value about 10,000 rupees.

† The name not legible in the original.

of the English gomastahs, and the rigor and violence with which the malguzarree is exacted, have taken to flight. I therefore hope you will do me the favor, to order a perwannah to be wrote to the fougedar, either to put a stop to the power of the English gomastahs, or else not to demand the rents from me."

SECTION X.

The Increase of the Disputes.—Mr. Vanfittart's Journey to Mongheer, and Regulations agreed upon with the Nabob.

Great Alarms of an approaching Rupture between us and the Nabob.—Increase of the Complaints on both Sides.—Letters containing the Complaints against the English Agents and Gomastahs.—Letters containing the Complaints against the Nabob's Officers.—Debates and Orders of the Board upon the Occasion.—Reasons for Mr. Vanfittart's Journey to Mongheer.—He arrives at Moorshedabad.

dabad.—Letter from him to the Council.—Letter from the Council to Mr. Vansittart; desiring him to settle a Plan for the private Trade, with an Account of Duties inclosed.—He arrives at Mongheer.—Conferences with the Nabob.—Letter from Mr. Vansittart to the Council, with Translations of two Letters, one from Mr. Cartier to Mahomed Allee, the Collector of Dacca; and one from Mes. Johnstone, Hay and Bolts, to the Fougedar of Purnea.—Letter from Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Hastings to the Council, with the Regulations proposed.—Letter from the Nabob to Mr. Vansittart, containing a Summary of his Complaints.—Mr. Vansittart's Answer to the Nabob, containing the Regulations promised thereupon, which was the Subject of the ensuing Disputes.—Mr. Vansittart proceeds to Patna.—Complaint made to him by the Nabob's Deputy at Patna.—Dispute about the Burbunna Gate.—Dispute about the Gunge.—Mr. Vansittart's Answer to the Deputy's Complaints.

plaints.—Mr. Vansittart sets out from Patna for Calcutta. — He calls at Mongheer, and takes Leave of the Nabob.—The Nabob sets out on an Expedition to Napaul.—State of his Forces at this Period.—Letter from the Council to Mes. Vansittart and Hastings, in Answer to theirs from Mongheer.— Mr. Vansittart arrives at Cossimbuzar. —His Letter to the Board from thence. —He returns to Calcutta.

I STROVE as long as possible to remove these disorders by private cautions to the gentlemen concerned ; but finding those means ineffectual, I was obliged to lay them before the Board, where, however, for the most part, they met with as little attention. They were usually construed as forged pretexts of the Nabob, to pick a quarrel with us, and encroach upon our rights. I was reproached with the credit which I gave to the Nabob's representations, and every gentleman, who was interested in them, regarded me as his personal enemy. In short,

short, though the complaints became every day more frequent, yet not one was ever redressed, nor even thought worthy of an enquiry; and all that I could do was, by palliating what I could not remedy, to keep the Nabob in temper, and prevent an open quarrel from breaking out between us.

SOON after, I was for two months confined from business by a dangerous illness. Being unable in this interval to apply the same palliatives and cautions, which had hitherto checked the progress of these disputes and struggles between the Nabob's officers and the gomastahs, they were carried to the greatest licentiousness on both sides. The first I heard of business after my recovery was, that a war was breaking out with the Nabob; complaints crowded in upon me from all parts, the officers of the government declaring, that their authority in every place was trampled upon by the English gomastahs, so that they could no longer preserve the least order, in the management of the business committed

mitted to their charge, nor collect the revenues of the government; and that the usual duties which had been paid by the English merchants on salt, and some other articles of private trade, were now withheld and refused; and, on the other side, the gentlemen of the subordinate factories, and the English gomastahs, asserting they had paid the usual duties, notwithstanding which many of their boats were stopped. That the nature of these complaints, which afterwards produced such consequences, may be the better understood, some of the most material shall be here inserted.

*Copy of a Letter from Serjeant * Brego to the Governor. Dated Backergunge, May 25, 1762.*

“**T**HE situation of affairs, at this place, obliges me to apply to your Honor for instructions for my further proceedings.

MY

* A serjeant sent with six seepoys, by the Nabob's desire, to assist the zemindar of Backergunge.

MY instructions which I brought here were, that in case any Europeans or their servants committed any disorders, they were to be sent to Calcutta, notwithstanding any pretence they shall make for so doing.

NOTWITHSTANDING the rigor of these orders, I have ever made it my business (when any thing trifling happened) to endeavor, by gentle means, to persuade the gentlemen's gomastahs here to act in a peaceable manner; which, although repeated several times, has had no effect; but, on the contrary, has occasioned their writing complaints of me to their respective masters, that I obstructed them in their business, and ill used them; and in return, I have received menacing letters from several gentlemen, threatening, if I interfere with their servants, to use such measures as I may repent; nor have the gentlemen only done this, their very gomastahs have made it public here, that in case I stop them in any proceeding, they will
use

use the same methods ; for the truth of which I have good proofs.

Now, Sir, I am to inform you what I have obstructed them in ; this place was of great trade formerly, but now brought to nothing by the following practices.

A GENTLEMAN sends a gomastah here to buy or sell ; he immediately looks upon himself as sufficient to force every inhabitant, either to buy his goods, or sell him theirs ; and on refusal (in case of non-capacity) a flogging or confinement immediately ensues. This is not sufficient even when willing, but a second force is made use of, which is, to engross the different branches of trade to themselves, and not to suffer any persons to buy or sell the articles they trade in ; and if the country people do it, then a repetition of their authority is put in practice ; and again, what things they purchase, they think the least they can do is, to take them for a considerable deal less than another merchant, and oftentimes refuse paying that ; and my interfering

VOL. II. I

terfering occasions an immediate complaint.

THESE, and many other oppressions more than can be related, which are daily used by the Bengal gomastahs, is the reason that this place is growing destitute of inhabitants, every day numbers leave the town, to seek a residence more safe; and the very markets, which before afforded plenty, do hardly now produce any thing of use, their peons being allowed to force poor people; and if the zemindar offers to prevent it, he is threatened to be used in the same manner.

BEFORE, justice was * given in the public cutcherree, but now every gomastah is become a judge, and every one's house a cutcherree; they even pass sentences on the zemindars themselves, and draw money from them by pretended injuries, such as a quarrel with some of their peons, or their having, as they assert, stole something, which is more likely to have been taken by their own people;

people ; but allowing they were robbed, I believe no gomastah's authority extends so far, as to take his own satisfaction on the government.

HAVING thus far acquainted your Honor with the behavior of the gomastahs here, I am to request your Honor's interest, that in case I am to put your orders in execution, I may be bore harmless therein ; and I beg leave to conclude, being with all respect, &c.

*Translation of a Letter from * Mahomed Allee to the Governor. Received the Beginning of October 1762.*

"HIS Excellency the Nabob was pleased to appoint me collector of the pergunahs in the province of Dacca ; but several people of that place have ingratiated themselves in the favor of the gentlemen of Luckypoor and Dacca factories, and greatly detrimented the affairs. To this purport his Excellency has wrote you, and directed me to

I 2

acquaint

* Collector of Dacca.

acquaint you with every thing relative to the gentlemen of the factory.

THEREFORE I now lay the whole before you, and send by Mirza Myfudeen a perwannah from his Excellency, which he will present to you. In the first place, a number of merchants have made interest with the people of the factory, hoist English colors on their boats, and carry away their goods under the pretence of their being English property, by which means the Shahbunder and other customs are greatly detrimented. Secondly, the gomastahs of Luckypoor and Dacca factories oblige the merchants, &c. to take tobacco, cotton, iron, and fundry other things, at a price exceeding that of the bazar, and then extort the money from them by force; besides which, they take diet money for the peons, and make them pay a fine for breaking their agreement. By these proceedings, the aurungs and other places are ruined. Thirdly, the gomastahs of Luckypoor factory have taken the taalookdars taalooes from the tahsildar

dar by force for their own use, and will not pay the rent. At the instigation of some people they, on a matter of complaint, send Europeans and seepoys with a dustuck into the country, and there create disturbances. They station chokeys at different places, and whatever they find in poor people's houses they cause to be sold, and take the money. By these disturbances the country is ruined, and the reiat cannot stay in their houses, nor pay the malguzarree. In many places, Mr. Chevalier has by force established new markets, and new factories, and has made false seepoys on his own part, and they seize whom they want, and fine them. By his forcible proceedings many hauts, gauts, and perganahs are ruined, and the malguzarree of the government suffers greatly. I therefore hope you will send, for the security of thereiat, two Europeans or seepoys with a dustuck, which may put an end to these proceedings, and tend to the benefit of the inhabitants. Please to send letters to the chiefs of Dacca

and Luckypoor, to write to their gomastahs in the districts, not to oblige the merchants to take tobacco, cotton, &c. and not in any respect to detriment the aurungs, and then the fircar will get the revenues. Other matters Mirza Mysudeen will relate to you, you will please to consider them, and then the affairs of the government will prosper."

* *Copy of a Letter from Mr. Ellis to the Governor and Council. Dated Oct. 7, 1762.*

"**T**O prevent any blame being hereafter thrown upon us for the deficiency of our investment, we are now to inform you, that at Jehanabad, the principal cloth aurung, our gomastahs, delolls, &c. have been peremptorily ordered to desist from purchasing, and quit the place. Upon their non-compliance, they have been threatened and abused in the most vile and gross terms ; and the washermen employed in whitening our cloths have been actually beat,

* Complaints against the Nabob's officers.

beat, and peons put over them, to prevent their going on in their business. Rajah. * Nobit Roy (to whom our chief has twice complained of these proceedings) declares, that the person who thus insults us, and impedes the Company's business, is independent of him ; so that it would seem he is sent by the Nabob merely for this purpose.

IF such insolence is suffered to pass unnoticed, we can have no hopes of completing our investment ; for who will serve us, whilst they thereby subject themselves to such severe and ignominious treatment from the country government ?

FOR the carrying on the Company's business, it is evident we must be obliged to repel force by force ; and shall do so, unless we receive your honors, &c. orders to the contrary."

* Then Naib at Patna.

Copy of the Resolution of the Board (Mess. Vanfittart, Amyatt, M'Gwire, Hay and Watts) on the foregoing Letter. October 18, 1762.

“ **A** GREED, we write immediately the following answer, that we inclose a letter from the President to the Nabob, on the subject of their complaints, and hope it will be effectual in removing all interruptions in the Company's business; but at all events, as we have it sufficiently in our power to procure satisfaction for any injury that may be done the interests of our employers; they are on no account to make use of force, without our express directions; that they do not mention in their letter, that they have made any application to the Nabob, to put a stop to the difficulties they represent; and which certainly they ought to have done, when they were informed, that the person they complained of, was independent of the Naib of Patna. At least it should have occurred to them, that such application

was.

was necessary, before they should propose to make use of force."

Extract of a Letter from the Gentlemen at Luckypoor, to the Governor and Council. Dated October 14, 1762.

"**W**E must beg leave to observe to you, that within these few days, every boat, which we have sent out of the river, has been stopped at the different chokeys, notwithstanding they have the chief's dustuck. Our gomastahs and people used ill and confined, and a very exorbitant duty demanded; and our servants in general greatly insulted all over the country. Upon our sending to some of these places to enquire the reason of this extraordinary behavior; answer was given, that they had orders from the Nabob to stop and demand duties from every English boat that passed, and on no account to let them go free, as the English dustuck was of no consequence in the country, and for this purpose the force at every chokey is augmented. This has occasioned an entire
stoppage

stoppage to our trade, greatly to the detriment of our private fortunes, as we have now large quantities of goods, detained at the different Chokeys, which we cannot get released, unless we submit to pay the extravagant custom they require; and were we to do that, our boats are liable to be stopped, at the very next Chokey, and the same duty again demanded. Of these circumstances we think it necessary to advise you, and hope speedy measures will be taken to procure us redress. We are under daily apprehensions, that a custom will be demanded on our cloth purchases, which must be of great prejudice to our Honorable Employers."

Extract of a Letter from the Chief and Council at Chittagong, to the Governor and Council. Dated October 14, 1762.

"**W**E last night received a letter from the Dacca gentlemen, advising us, that the extraordinary influence of the natives in every part of their districts, has given them the greatest

est reason to apprehend troubles in the country ; and that the natives seem to confirm these surmises by their own declarations ; that their trade is almost put an entire stop to, their flag used with contempt, and their privileges ridiculed ; that this being their present situation, they request we will let them have another company of seepoys, for the protection of our Honorable Masters property at their factory ; that the Company appointed there are very sickly, and many men unfit for actual service ; that the sooner we send them this detachment the better, as also some ammunition ; that the Company shall again be returned, when their affairs are put upon a better footing. In consequence of these advices, we have ordered a company of seepoys, with some ammunition, to proceed to Dacca, with all expedition, which we hope will meet with your approbation. At the same time, we also received a letter from the gentlemen at Luckypoor, requesting a supply

ply of ammunition, which we have ordered to be sent.

WE must observe to you, that within these few days past, we have received advice from our gomastahs, in different parts of the country, that our business is entirely put a stop to, by the Nabob's people, and our boats not suffered to pass the chokeys, the zemindars demanding very considerable duties to be paid them, declaring, they have orders from Cossim Allee Cawn so to do, and unless we use force to prevent it, they will see his directions strictly complied with. Several of our boats are now lying confined at different chokeys."

Extract of a Letter from the Chief and Council at Dacca, to the Governor and Council. Dated October 8, 1762.

"WE think it our duty to inform you, that the outrages committed in these parts by the government's people, for this month past, have arrived to such a height, as to put almost a total stop to our business. At every chokey

chokey our boats are stopped, the people insulted, and the flag used with the utmost and most gross contempt. Our advices from Silhet give us the same intelligence, further adding, that * *muchulcas* have been taken from many inhabitants, prohibiting them on no account to have any connections with the English. As this spirit of insolence increases to a very surprizing degree, and we have daily the mortification to hear of repeated insults and violences offered to our privileges, we are under an apprehension, that the Company's business will in a few days share the same fate as all private has. To prevent and remedy these evils, we must depend upon the measures you may take in consequence of this information.

As appearances are so very unpromising, we have wrote to the gentlemen of Chittagong, for a reinforcement of a company of seepoys, which shall be again returned them, when affairs begin to clear up."

Extract

* Written obligations.

Extract from Consultation of the 18th of October. (Present Mes, Vansittart, Amyatt, M'Gwire, Hay and Watts.)

“ **A** GREED, we write to Dacca in answer to their letter of the 8th instant ; that we must needs say, from the information of the above * letters, there is reason to fear their gomastahs and agents have made use of very unwarrantable practices in their trade; and perhaps the several disputes and interruptions they complain of, have been owing to that cause ; but as we are always able and willing, when the necessity of circumstances may require, to procure them redress for any injuries they may suffer in their trade, or otherwise: we direct, that they forbear making use of force without our permission and orders ; and therefore desire they will return to Chittagong immediately, the company of seepoys which they have wrote for from thence ; and if
any

* Serjeant Brego's, Mahomed Allee's and others, then read at the Board.

any complaints of interruptions in their business are hereafter made by their gomastahs, let Mr. Cartier send a person to enquire into the truth of the affair, with a letter to the proper officer of the government, to desire he will put a stop to such obstructions ; that inclosed, are letters from the Governor to Jessarut Cawn, the Naib, and Mahomed Allee, the collector of the revenues ; which we hope will prevent any further disorders, at least, until the President can make the necessary regulations in concert with the Nabob ; that the above-mentioned copies of letters we have forwarded to them for their information and reply, in case there should be any facts in them misrepresented ; and we desire they will send, on their parts, a particular state of their complaints to the President, who will take the proper measures to obtain them satisfaction and indemnification for all losses and damages ; that they must likewise take effectual care, that none of their gomastahs or agents do in future use any kind of force or authority in
carrying

carrying on their trade, least the disputes, occasioned by such practices, should in the end affect the Company's business ; neither must their gomastahs be allowed to set themselves up as magistrates in the country, in hearing disputes between the inhabitants, imposing fines, &c.

AGREED, we likewise add to the Luckypoor letter, the several instructions contained in the above letter to Dacca, to regulate themselves by, in case any disputes should happen with them."

Extract of Consultation of the 1st of November, 1762. (Present Mesrs. Amyatt, M'Gwire, Hay and Watts.)

" **A**GREED, to write an answer to Luckypoor, referring them to our letter of the 18th of October, for directions how to regulate themselves with regard to the obstructions they complain of, till such time as the President can arrive with the Nabob, and enquire into, and settle these disputes on a solid plan

plan for the future safety and freedom of our trade, desiring them in the mean time to send us an account of the duties they have usually paid, and the fresh customs which are now demanded, for the President's guidance in settling the matter.

AGREED, to write to Chittagong, advising them, in answer to the above letter, that as the President is gone on a visit to the Nabob, and intends to enquire very particularly into, and settle all the disputes of the nature they complain of. We desire they will send us a particular account of their complaints, what was the amount of the former duties, and what fresh customs are now demanded, for his (the President's) guidance in so doing ; but that, in the mean time, we must forbid them making use of force to redress themselves without our positive directions ; that regarding the disputes at Dacca, we have sent the gentlemen there our orders and directions, under the 18th of October."

NOTWITHSTANDING the lengths to which these disputes were carried, and the warmth and ill humor which appeared on both sides, I had yet one resource left for an accommodation, which I doubted not would succeed. I mean an interview with the Nabob, which I had long intended, and which he had often strongly pressed. I was determined, therefore, to take this opportunity, when a change of air was necessary for my health, to pay him a visit at Mongheer. I flattered myself this would prove an effectual method of re-establishing a confidence between us, putting an end to the disputes, which had arisen, and providing a plan for the security of the provinces against foreign enemies.

THE points in dispute were not any interests of the Company, but the extent of the privileges of our private trade, the duties to be paid on certain articles, and the overgrown authority of our agents and gomastahs; points which had been often disputed by the former Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn, as has been already

ready mentioned. That I might have all the necessary informations, orders were sent from the Board to Luckypoor and Dacca, to transmit an account of what duties they had usually paid upon their private inland trade ; on the other hand, I wrote to the officers of the government, that I should soon see the Nabob, that all difficulties would then be removed ; and in the mean time, that they should be very careful not to obstruct the business of any of the English gomastahs, but receive such duties as had usually been paid, and give their rowanas * or dustucks.

I ASKED leave of the Board to take Mr. Hastings as my assistant, and made the necessary preparations for my journey with all expedition, as my setting out on a friendly visit to the Nabob, could not but have one immediate good effect, throughout the country, by shewing, that there was no foundation for the alarm of an intended rupture.

THE 20th of October, I set out from Calcutta, and arrived the 3d of November at Moorshedabad, where I had many conversations with the Naib, or deputy, Syed Mahomed Cawn, on the subject of the disputes which had arisen in all parts of the country. He laid before me a multitude of complaints, which came within his province, and I did what was in my power to redress such as required it; on my part also, I made known to him the representations which had come from our factories against Mahomed Allee, the collector of Dacca, and the adjacent districts, who seemed to be the most forward of the Nabob's officers in encouraging the disputes. Syed Mahomed Cawn, professed a very bad opinion of Mahomed Allee, and assured me, he had urged the Nabob to remove him. All that I saw at Moorshedabad, confirmed my hopes of an easy conciliation, and I wrote the Board the following letter, transmitting them, at the same time, the Nabob's answer to

Mr.

Mr. Ellis's complaints of the 7th of October.

Copy of a Letter from the Governor to the Council. Dated Cossimbuzar, November 9, 1762.

“ I FIND, that the interruptions which the gentlemen at Chittagong, Dacca, and Luckypoor, have met with for some weeks past, are owing to the bad disposition of Mahomed Allee, the person last appointed by the Nabob to collect the rents of that part of the country. Syed Mahomed Cawn, the deputy Governor of Moorshedabad, expresses as much resentment against that man, as we do ourselves; and assures me, that he has represented him in such a light to the Nabob, that he is persuaded he will be immediately dismissed from his office. This is a point I shall urge to the Nabob, if it is not done before I arrive at Mongheer; and further, that he be punished for his insolence, and obliged to make satisfaction for all losses which may have been incurred by the de-

lays he has occasioned. In the mean time, I have the honor to transmit you four orders from Syed Mahomed Cawn, to the said collector, warning him of the bad consequences of his present conduct, and charging him not to obstruct the business of our factories ; I send one likewise from myself. These forwarded to the respective factories, will, I hope, remove all obstructions ; and, on the other hand, Syed Mahomed Cawn desires, that our gentlemen will take all possible care to prevent their gomastahs and agents from interfering in the business of the government, or using force in buying or selling.

I HAVE not yet the Nabob's answer concerning the disputes between the uncle and nephew, for the zemindarree of Baboopour. As soon as I receive it, I shall forward it to you, that you may give the necessary directions to the chief, &c. at Luckypoor.

THE answer I have received from the Nabob to Mr. Ellis's complaint, I now inclose with a translation. I think it
would

would be proper to send a copy to that gentleman, with directions to apply to the Naib at Patna, if in future he should meet with any interruptions in his business; and if the Naib either refuses, or has not authority to remove them, then to apply to the Nabob himself, from whom, if he does not obtain such redress and assistance as the case may require, then to make his representation to the Board, with copies of his letters to the government, and the answers received. By this we shall be saved the trouble of hearing complaints, except in cases where our interposition becomes really necessary."

Translation of a Letter from the Nabob to the Governor. Dated November 1, 1762.

"I HAVE received with great pleasure your friendly letter. You wrote, that "you learn from Mr. Ellis, the chief of the factory at Patna, that cloths have been provided for many years at the aurung at Jehanabad for the Company;

now Pervoo Roy, the aumil of that place, obstructs the weavers in providing the cloths ; and when they are made, hinders the washermen from dressing and washing them, to the great prejudice of the Company's business ; and you desire, that I will give strict orders to the aumil, not to molest the Company's gomastahs, and to assist them on every occasion."

SIR, wherever that gentleman has an opportunity, he fails not to make complaints of his business. As he has found my officers in no instance faulty, he has wrote to you the impertinences and complaints of the washermen ; you well know, that the washermen pay no duties, and that the aumils have no authority to interrupt them, or prevent their washing and dressing the cloths. Was this affair really true, he would immediately have informed Rajah Nobit Roy of it, and he would have immediately wrote to the aumil about it ; but as it is altogether without foundation, he chuses to make a false complaint to you. Do
you

you yourself consider this affair. Nevertheless, I have sent strict orders to the Rajah to write to the aumil, that he on no account obstruct the currency of the Company's business; and that, on application from the gomastahs of the factory, he afford them due aid and assistance."

THE Board having received the accounts of duties on private inland trade from Luckypoor, sent the same to me for my guidance in settling that point with the following letter.

Copy of a Letter from the Council to the Governor. Dated Calcutta, November 15, 1762.

"WE have received your letter of the 9th instant, and are thereby glad to find, that the interruptions of the trade, which have happened towards Dacca, Luckypoor and Chittagong, are only apparently owing to the bad conduct, and ill disposition of the collector Mahomed Allee; we make no doubt

doubt therefore, but a representation from you to the Nabob of this man's bad behavior, will be the means of obtaining ample satisfaction and restitution for all losses sustained in that quarter. And as we hear that the trade in the countries of Purnea and Rungpoor has likewise met with great interruptions, we must beg leave particularly to recommend to your attention the getting these obstructions also removed, and obtaining retaliation for the losses of any individuals, who may make their complaints to you.

WE have forwarded to Dacca the orders to be delivered to Mahomed Allee; and have desired the gentlemen there to write to Luckypoor and Chittagong, of the receipt and tenor of these orders; and afterwards, of the effect they may have upon Mahomed Allee's conduct.

WE have under this date wrote to Patna, with a copy of the Nabob's letter, and directions agreeable to what you advise; but we must beg leave to observe, that the terms in which the Nabob

bob makes mention of Mr. Ellis are indecent, and very improper, and ought not to be encouraged. We have too good an opinion of Mr. Ellis's veracity, to suppose that he would advance a falsity to the Board; and we hope therefore, that you will endeavor to prevent such indecencies from passing in future, when we are treating with the Nabob on public matters.

INCLOSED we transmit you an extract from a Luckypoor letter, explaining the shahbunder duties which they have always paid, and the nature of the fresh extortions which are now demanded, which we imagine may be of service to you, in finally settling these matters upon a solid plan.

*Extract of a Letter from the Gentlemen
at Luckypoor to the Board. Dated
November 6, 1762.*

“ **T**HE duties we have hitherto
paid to the shahbunder are as
follows.

Rup. A. P.

* On salt 9 14 3 per 100 maunds
On tobacco 0 4 0 per maund.

ON this first article, we believe we
have paid rather more than the Dacca
factory ; but hope you will get it settled
on an equal footing. With regard to the
fresh customs now demanded, the cho-
keys do not require any stipulated sum,
but fleece our gomastahs and people of
all they can ; and if our boats are freed
from

* The prime cost of salt, purchased by the gen-
tlemen of Luckypoor factory, was usually about
60 rupees *per* 100 maunds ; so that the duty they
paid, amounted to about 15 *per cent.* on the prime
cost.

The prime cost of tobacco, purchased by the
gentlemen of Luckypoor factory, was usually about
two or two and a half rupees *per* maund ; at which
last rate the duty they paid amounted to 10 *per cent.*
on the prime cost.

from one chokey, they are sure to be stopped at the next, and our servants confined and treated very ill. The instant we had advice of our boats being stopped at these places, we sent to them to know the reason, and desire their release; but answer was always given, that they had orders from the Nabob for so doing, and therefore could not release them."

I DESIRE that particular notice may be taken of the words, "*Inclosed we transmit you an extract, &c. which we imagine may be of service to you, in finally settling these matters upona solid plan* *," because it will be found in the sequel, that the Board denied they ever gave me an authority for settling that point.

I left Moorshedabad the 12th of November, and arrived at Mongheer the 30th, where the Nabob received me with all the usual marks of respect and friendship. Hardly a day past, but I went with Mr. Hastings to visit the Nabob, or he came to us. His constant
topick

* See page 139.

topick was the ill treatment he had received from Mr. Ellis, and the injustice done him by me and the Council, in not resenting such proceedings. As I knew it was out of my power to give him any satisfaction in that point, I answered, that all these disputes were long passed, and he should think no more of them ; and that now he and I were met together, such regulations should be made, as would be satisfactory to both parties, and prevent any disputes in future. He was always warm upon this argument ; and I found that he and Mr. Ellis could never be friends ; however, I hoped, that the occasions of dispute might be removed, and their enmity lie buried within their own breasts.

HE next complained of the innovations in the private trade, as salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, &c, and the insolent authority usurped by our gomastahs, employed carrying it on in the distant parts of the country. He urged, that we had no right to this trade from our firmaun, that it occasioned incredible damage

mage and disorder to his government, and this for the advantage only of particulars; and in short insisted, that we should continue it no longer, but confine our private trade in the same manner it was, before the government of Meer Jaffier. Although I was of the same opinion with the Nabob, as to the rights of the firmaun; that they could not be construed to extend further than the trade in articles imported by shipping, and the manufactures and products of the country for exportation; yet I was unwilling to give up an advantage, which had been enjoyed by the Company's servants, in a greater or less degree, for five or six years; and therefore told the Nabob, that as to the inland trade, or the trade from place to place in the country, in the articles of the produce of the country, we meant only to carry it on upon the same footing with other merchants; that we had always paid more or less duties to the government on this trade; but as the rates were not fixed and regulated, many disputes arose on
that

that account; that we would inform ourselves of the rate of duties paid by the Moors and other merchants; and according to that give a general order, that duties should be paid in all parts.

To this the Nabob consented with great difficulty, and declared, that if after this regulation any more disputes should arise, and the duties agreed on should not be paid, he should have no remedy left, but the laying all trade entirely open, and giving a general liberty to the merchants of the country, and all other nations, to carry on their commerce custom-free.

It is needless to enumerate all the Nabob's complaints of the insults exercised against his government, not only by our subordinate factories, but by every private merchant; they were indeed endless; amongst them were two letters, which I thought necessary to send down to the Council, one from Mr. Cartier, the chief at Dacca, to the Nabob's collector there; the other from Messrs. Johnstone, Hay and Bolts, to the fougedar

fougedar of Purnea. The following are copies of the letter I wrote to the Council on this subject the 15th of December; and of one which I wrote jointly with Mr. Hastings the same day, to inform them of the regulations we proposed making with the Nabob.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor to the Council. Dated at Mongheer, December 15.

“ **I** NCLOSED I send for your perusal two Persian letters, delivered to me by the Nabob, with their translations. One from Mr. Cartier to Mahomed Allee, the collector of the Dacca districts, which, if I understand it right, (for the expressions are rather obscure) is wrote in a very improper stile, and tends to encourage and promote those evils, which we have taken so much pains to remedy; I mean, a jealousy and distrust between us and the Nabob; I request you will be pleased to call on Mr. Cartier for an explanation of his meaning, and give him such a caution on

the occasion, as to you shall seem necessary.

THE other from Mess. Johnstone, Hay and Bolts to Sheer Allee Cawn, fougedar of Purnea, endorsed by Mr. Bolts in English, and written I imagine by him, in the name of the Partnership. Whoever reads this letter, must naturally conclude no other government subsisted amongst us, since it was left to Mr. Bolts to assert the privileges of the firmaun, and vindicate, in the name of the English, the freedom of the Company's dustuck. Such notions propagated in the country, must needs be prejudicial to the Company's affairs, by weakening their government; and it is for this reason, the Company have forbid letters to be written to the country government, by any person excepting the President, or with his approbation. I never refused to apply for redress for any grievance that the gentlemen in the service, and all other inhabitants of the settlement, have applied to me about; and in case of my illness or absence, Mr.

Amyatt

Amyatt was ready to give them the same assistance. I must therefore recommend to you to inflict such censure or punishment on Mr. Bolts, as shall seem to you necessary for preventing such irregularities in future. I could wish also, that it were made a rule for the chiefs of the subordinate factories, and all others, when they write letters to the country government, to sign them, that in case of their being produced afterwards, they may be known to be authentic."

*Translation of a Letter * from Mr. Cartier to Mahomed Allee.*

“SEVERAL chokeydars and cut-wauls, and collectors and zemindars, and other officers in the town, and its dependencies, are guilty of violent proceedings towards the gomastahs, and people of the English Company, and gentlemen; rob and plunder, and regard not the English flag and dustuck. The news of this has reached my ears; as the chiefship of the factory here belongs

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to

* This and the following letter are referred to in the foregoing.

to me, therefore, for the sake of justice, and to establish the Company's business, I acquaint you with these proceedings; and desire you will in answer inform me, why such proceedings have happened; yet I am persuaded you are not the author of them, and much less the Nabob. As you are acquainted with the secrets of this affair, I therefore send to you for a full and proper explanation of it. You know what a disturbance will arise between us; and by the grace of God you have seen, and will see, what our strength and power has shewn itself, and will shew itself. Your prudence, and the care and preservation of your greatness, would dictate to you to turn out the disturbers; but by turning them out, the credit and power of the high * name will be lessened. I hope you will write me the particulars of all these oppressions, that I may be acquainted with the whole proceedings,

* This is rendered literally from the original Persian; but in both, the sense is obscure. It seems to mean the Nabob, and to be an ironical allusion to the title conferred on him by the King, which is *Allee*, or *High in Rank*.

ceedings, and may likewise know whether you are a friend or not. As circumstances are represented erroneously by vackeels, I have therefore committed them to writing."

Translation of a Letter from Mef. Johnstone, Hay and Bolts to Meer Sheer Allee Cawn, Fougedar of Poorneea.

"**O**UR gomastah Ramchurn-dofs, being gone into those parts, meets with obstructions from you, in whatever business he undertakes; moreover, you have published a prohibition to this effect; that whoever shall have any dealing with the English, you will seize his house, and lay a fine upon him. In this manner you have prohibited the people under your jurisdiction. We were surprized at hearing of the affair, because that the royal firmaun, which the English nation is possessed of, is violated by this proceeding; but the English will by no means suffer, with patience, their firmaun to be broke through; we therefore expect, that upon the receipt

of this letter, you will take off the order you have given to the reiat; and in case of your not doing it, we will certainly write to the Nabob, in the name of the English, and send for such an order from him, that you shall restore fully and entirely whatever loss the English have sustained, or shall sustain by this obstruction; and that you shall repent having thus interrupted our business, in despite of the royal firmaun. After reading this letter we are persuaded you will desist from interrupting it, will act agreeably to the rules of friendship, and so that your amity may appear; and will by no means stop the Company's dustuck."

Copy of a Letter from the Governor and Mr. Hastings to the Council. Dated at Mongheer, December 15, 1762.

"**WE** have had many conferences with the Nabob on the subject of the late complaints; which appear to have been chiefly occasioned by the private inland trade, or the trade from place to place in the country. He
enlarged

enlarged much on the licentiousness and oppressions exercised by our gomastahs, especially on those distant parts of the province, where his government is less established, and too remote for our enquiries into their behavior. He argued, that the trade of those parts consisted chiefly in articles produced and sold in the country, from which former Nabobs had always restrained all Europeans, and to which he did not conceive, that we could claim any right from our firmaun.

WE agree with the Nabob in opinion, that the true intent and natural meaning of the firmaun granted to the Company, was to give to them and their servants a free trade, clear of all customs, in all articles of commerce, to be imported or exported by shipping. From such commerce, a mutual advantage is derived to our country and to this ; but the trade from place to place in the country, in salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, and other commodities produced here, bringing no general benefit to the country, but to particulars only, who have the same in their

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hands ;

hands ; we do not think the firmaun can be understood to include them, within the privilege of the dustuck, or to grant us a right to trade therein, on any other footing than the natives themselves ; that is, paying the usual customs to the government ; for if we had a right to trade therein custom-free, and the natives must pay customs, it follows, that no one but ourselves could carry on any trade, which we cannot suppose the firmaun intended *.

IT

* The Company, in their answer to the complaints of the Dutch, page 36, seem plainly to declare that this is their opinion ; their words are as follow :

“ The acceptance of this grant (for the sole purchase of salt-petre) by our servants, they complain of as injurious to them, and as inconsistent with that free trade, to which they claim a right under the Mogul’s firmauns.

In support of this measure, we might observe, that those firmauns, general as they are, are not to be construed as universal, but to be understood with this limitation, that they do not operate to the prejudice of any subsisting right or usage ; much less of such rights as could not be abolished, without a considerable diminution of the public revenues.

Whatever

IT is fact, that the Nabobs of these provinces, did formerly restrain the Europeans from carrying on this trade upon any footing, and by farming out the several articles to particular merchants, drew to themselves a considerable revenue.

AFTER the defeat and death of Serajah Dowla, and the establishment of Jaffier Allee Cawn in the Subahship, by the assistance of the English, we began to take a share of this trade, which share has been from day to day increasing. It has, however, always been a subject of dispute with the country government, our right never having been admitted by them, nor regularly claimed and established by us; and the government's duties have generally been paid.

BUT not contented with this, the English gomastahs, in different parts, have

Whatever article of trade, therefore, has been ordinarily monopolized and granted in farm, it might be contended, may still be so enjoyed, and granted without infringement of those firmans; the design of which was, to admit European traders to the same freedom of trading with the Mogul's own subjects, and surely not a better."

have lately begun to insist upon this trade as a firmaun privilege, equally with the foreign trade, and refuse to pay any customs. The government's people, on their part, demand the customs, and upon refusal stop the goods; and this contest has been the occasion of many of the complaints received by us and the Nabob.

As, on the one hand, we do not see any reason why the English gentlemen, and other inhabitants of Calcutta, and the subordinate factories, should carry on the inland trade, with the Company's dustuck, or in any other respect, more advantageously than the country merchants; so, on the other hand, we think it would be a great hardship, if we, and all belonging to us, were not admitted upon an equality with the merchants and inhabitants of other parts of Bengal, and suffered to trade, on equal terms, in all commodities, and in all places, provided our agents and gomastahs do not set themselves up for magistrates in the country, and carry on their business by force

force and oppression. Practices of this sort, in many of the English agents and gomastahs; and an abuse on the part of the Nabob's officers of the power put into their hands, for the restraint of such practices, have been the causes of the many complaints lately received.

IN these sentiments, the regulations we have proposed to the Nabob for fixing the manner of carrying on this trade in future, and preventing any disputes between his officers, and our agents and gomastahs, are as follow.

FIRST, That for all trade imported or to be exported by shipping, the Company's dustuck shall be granted, and it shall pass unmolested, and free of customs as usual.

SECOND, For all trade from one place in the country to another, in commodities produced in the country, as salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, &c. the Company's dustuck shall not be granted; but it shall go with the dustuck of the buxbunder, shahbunder, or other office of the country government.

THIRD,

THIRD, That at the time of taking out the said dustuck, and before the dispatch of the goods, the duties shall be paid according to the rates, which shall be particularly settled and annexed to this agreement.

FOURTH, That the said duties, so to be paid before exportation, shall be the whole that are to be paid; so that after the dispatch of the goods, nothing shall be paid at any chokeys in the road, nor at the place of sale.

FIFTH, That all goods, being furnished either with the Company's dustuck, or that of the government, shall meet with no obstruction or delay. The guards and chokeys on the road shall have nothing more to do, than to demand a sight of the dustuck, unless they shall observe the boats to be laden with a larger quantity of goods, than are mentioned in the dustuck; in which case, they are to give immediate notice to the nearest English factory, as well as to the nearest officer of the government, that orders may be sent to have a strict examination;

nation ; but they are not to detain them in the road.

SIXTH, If any one should attempt to pass goods without a duffuck, either from the government or the Company, or shall clandestinely procure a Company's duffuck to pass salt, tobacco, or other produce of the country, from place to place, for inland trade, such goods shall be seized and confiscated. The guards and chokeys in the road are to stop them, and to give notice to the nearest English factory, as well as the nearest officer of the government.

SEVENTH, If any person, not having a duffuck, shall attempt to pass boats or goods clandestinely, under the cover of, and in company with, other boats or goods, having a duffuck, such boats or goods so attempted to be passed clandestinely, shall be seized and confiscated.

EIGHTH, The gomastahs in every place shall carry on their trade freely, and as merchants ; and shall, on no account, use force in buying or selling. , If any disputes arise in the course of their business,

sinefs, they fhall not attempt to redrefs themselves, but fhall make their complaints to the fougedar, or other officer of the government, and have the matter tried before him. In like manner, if any merchant or inhabitant fhall be aggrieved by any Englifh gomastah, he fhall make his complaints to the fougedar, or other officers of the government; and the gomastah being duly summoned, fhall appear before him to answer to the charge, and have the matter determined.

NINTH, To deter the fougedars, and other officers of the government, from being guilty of any partiality, they fhall be enjoined to transmit to the Nabob copies of their proceedings, upon all trials where Englifh agents or gomastahs are concerned; and likewise to give a copy to the agent or gomastah, who, if he thinks himself aggrieved, may fend the same to his principal; and he may make his complaint to the Prefident, who, if the cafe requires it, will apply to the Nabob for redrefs; and when any fougedar, or other officer of the government,

ment, shall prove guilty of such partiality, the Nabob shall punish him in the most exemplary manner.

WE think it would be unreasonable to desire to carry on the inland trade upon any other footing, than that of the merchants of the country; and that the attempting to carry it on free of customs, and with the Company's dustuck, would bring upon us universal jealousy and ill-will, and, in the end, prejudice the Company's affairs, as well as our own. In the course of our conferences upon this subject, the Nabob observed, that if the English gomastahs were permitted to trade in all parts, and in all commodities custom-free, as many of them now pretend, they must of course draw all the trade into their own hands, and his customs would be of so little value to him, that it would be much more for his interest to lay trade entirely open, and collect no customs from any person whatever, upon any kind of merchandize, which would draw a number of merchants into his country, and encrease

crease his revenues, by encouraging the cultivation and manufacture of a larger quantity of goods for sale ; at the same time, he added, it would effectually cut off the principal subject of the disputes, which had disturbed the good understanding between us, an object which he had more than any other at heart. This scheme we discouraged all in our power, as it would immediately render the dustuck useless, and prejudice our Honorable Masters business, by enhancing the number of purchasers ; and it is an argument why we ought readily to consent to the regulation now proposed, not to risk hurting the Company's interests, for our own private advantage.

THE Nabob desires our orders may be repeated, that none of the Company's servants, their agents, gomastahs, or other persons employed by them, shall be permitted to hold offices under the country government, nor to purchase, rent, or hold lands, gunges or markets, nor to lend money to the zemindars or collectors, as all these are sources of dispute

pute between the Company's people and the government's.

WE have sent Mr. Helas the Nabob's orders for the free purchase of the timbers wanted for the new fort; and the Nabob has expressed to Sheer Allee, the fougedar of that district, his highest displeasure at the obstructions he before laid in his way, and the ill treatment which the English gomastahs in general complained of from him.

INCLOSED we send the Nabob's orders to Mahomed Allee, the collector of the Daeca districts, enjoining him to release all boats that may be stopped by him, or any person under his jurisdiction, to demand for customs nothing more than has hitherto been paid upon the inland trade of those parts, and to refund all that may have been extorted beyond that. Likewise another order to the same person, requiring him to transmit a more circumstantial account of the dispute between the uncle and nephew about the zemindarree of Baboopoor, and how it happened, that three or four of

our seepoys were killed there. But as both in this affair, and that of Taagepoor, dependent on Poorneea, where one of Mr. Gray's gomastahs was killed, a severe example seems highly necessary; we have agreed with the Nabob, to send a person on our part along with one of his, to enquire upon the spot, and bring a full and impartial account of each of these events; and the Nabob has promised to punish his people with the utmost severity, if they prove to be as guilty as they now appear. Mr. Hastings will go to Taagepoor to finish that enquiry; and we desire you will direct Mr. Billers, to produce the necessary proofs to the person, who may be appointed by the Nabob to enquire concerning the other affair."

As I thought I was doing a great service to the English merchants, by establishing a right to a trade which had always before been disputed; and as the other regulations before proposed appeared to me entirely just and necessary,

I made

I made no scruple to assure the Nabob they should take place, especially as I conceived myself to be fully authorized by the Board to act for them on this occasion. I informed myself, as well as possible, of the duties usually paid upon salt, and other articles of inland trade; and in consequence of these enquiries, I agreed with the Nabob, that the rate of duties should be nine per cent. on the prime cost, at the places where the goods are provided. I found this to be * below the rate already paid at Luckypoor; and I knew, that the profits on that branch of trade would bear such a charge without the least cause of complaint. The Nabob having set afoot an expedition against Beteea and Napaul, which he intended to command in person, waited only my taking leave of him to set out. In order therefore to bring our business to a conclusion, he summed up all his complaints and proposals in a letter, dated the 26th of December; and I immediately wrote him an answer, assuring

M 2 him,

* As is manifestly proved, page 140 of this Vol.

him, that the regulations we had agreed on should be established. I told him, that upon my arrival at Calcutta, orders from the Board should be sent in consequence to all our subordinate factories. At the same time, I desired that he would give me orders to all his officers, directing them to act in conformity to these regulations ; which orders should be forwarded along with ours from Calcutta.

The following are exact translations of the Nabob's letter, and my answer, containing the proposed regulations.

*Translation of a Letter from the Nabob
to the Governor.*

“ **A**S there are many places within the pergunahs, in the provinces of Bengal and Bahar, much oppressed by the English Company's gomastahs and servants, I shall trouble you to write to the chiefs of Cossimbuzar, Dacca, Luckypoor, Malda, Patna, &c. not to give dustucks, or permit any one to hoist English colors, besides what are granted for the Company's ship-merchandize ;

chandize ; that on whatever goods of this country they purchase and sell, they shall pay duties for the same as other merchants, and receive a duffuck from the fircar, and may pass and repass, only giving a copy of their duffuck at every gaut ; that they should use no force in the purchase and sale of goods ; nor take possession of the houses and golas belonging to the reiat and merchants. The mussulmen merchants pay a duty of nine per cent. at the gauts, and place of purchase, &c. you will also appoint the same duty. Let not any one impede the dellols and weavers of the fircar at the aurungs of Dacca, Radanagur, Kirpay, Nuddea, Moorshedabad, Malda, Callygaum, &c. where the fircar may freely purchase ; nor injure or oppress the inhabitants of the Perganahs ; nor protect the reiat, merchants, renters, and servants of the government ; nor prejudice the revenues. As the Company's gomastah's make salt at Sundeeep, &c. I desire you will write to them, not to make any more there, but, like other mer-

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chants,

chants, to purchase it from the mo-
lunghees at the market price. You will
direct the gentlemen, gomastahs, mut-
taseddees and moonshees, and other offi-
cers of the English Company, to relinquish
their farms, taalooks, gunges and golas,
and not take any in future ; to afford no
protection to any one, upon proof to re-
ceive back the money that they paid for
their purchases ; not borrow from, or
lend to the muttaseddees, aumils, ze-
mindars, or other dependents of the go-
vernment ; not to coin any money at
the Moorshedabad, Dacca, or Patna
mints, as it occasions a loss to the fircar,
but to coin their money at Calcutta. In
the pergunahs of Cuddy-barry and Ca-
loo-bauboo-para, and my other jagheer
lands, under the jurisdiction of Assam,
the revenues formerly amounted to forty
thousand rupees, arising from the trade
of salt, large timbers, and several other
articles. The government's people used
to carry on the commerce there, and no
other merchants were permitted to traf-
fick with the mountaineers. Two years
ago

ago Mr. Chevalier went there, and he has put an entire stop to the trade of the fircar, and himself trafficks with the mountaineers, from whence a loss arises to my revenues ; and he forcibly seizes the taalookdars and reiat's of the aforesaid pergunahs, to make them draw timbers, by which means they are brought to the last distress. In the pergunahs of Gopalpoor and Dukkunbar-poor, and other districts, where salt is made, the people of the Company's factory work the salt pans ; and they take possession of all the salt which the molunghees of other pergunahs have made, by which means I suffer a very great loss. Moreover, they oblige the reiat's to receive money from them for purchasing rice, and by force and violence they take more than the market price affords ; and the reiat's are running away on account of these oppressions. For many years it has been customary for the Cashmeer merchants to advance money at Sunderbund, and provide molunghees to work the salt pans there ; they paid the rents

for the salt pans, at the several pérgha-
nahs ; and the duties on the salt, which
were paid at Burry-faul chokey, belong-
ing to the Shahbunder, amounted to near
thirty thousand rupees ; at present, the
people of the factory have dispossessed
the Cashmeer merchants, and have ap-
propriated all the salt to themselves.
Please to write to the gomastahs of the
aforesaid places, to desist from exercising
any authority there."

*Translation of the Governor's Answer to
the above Letter.*

" I HAVE been honored with the re-
ceipt of your Excellency's letter,
and understand the several contents. A-
greeably to your desire, I will write to
the chiefs of the factories, to grant a
Company's dustuck upon the purchase
and sale of all shipping goods ; and that
they will deal like other merchants, in such
goods as are bought and sold in different
parts of the country for the inland trade.
That they must not give a Company's
dustuck, but must pay a duty of nine
per

per cent. upon the purchase of the goods, in lieu of all demands at the chokeys, &c. into the buxbunder or shahbunder, and take a dustuck from thence, and not be guilty of any violence or extortion. I hope that you, on your part, will give orders to the fougedars, and other officers of the fircar, that they are not to give any interruption to the purchase and sale of shipping goods, with which there will be a Company's dustuck; nor to make the least demand upon them; and that they must by no means interrupt the purchase and sale of the inland trade, but must grant a dustuck for the goods, after having taken the stipulated duty upon the purchase-price, agreeably to your commands; and that the drogass of the chokeys must only take a copy of the dustuck, and make no demands.

I HAVE already wrote to all the chiefs of the factories, not to oppress the rellats and inhabitants of the pergunahs, nor protect your dependents, nor make any disturbance in the affairs of the fircar. I
will

will now again write particularly to the chiefs ; and fresh orders shall likewise be sent to the several gomastahs to desist from such proceedings, to look upon the officer of the fircar as the proper magistrate ; and in case of any disturbances or disputes, to appear before him, and there settle them. You will give orders to you fougedars and officers, that they must behave to the gomastahs with truth and uprightness, and act without partiality ; and if any one makes a complaint against a gomastah, that they must send for the gomastah and decide the dispute ; and in case of a gomastah's making any complaint, that they must take that likewise into consideration and decide it.

I HAVE wrote to the chiefs of Chit-tagong, and Luckypoor, that they must not work the salt-pans themselves, nor interrupt the merchants and renters of salt-pans, who pay the government's rents ; but purchase from them whatever they want to purchase ; I accordingly

ingly send you inclosed two letters for the said chiefs.

ORDERS shall be sent to the chiefs and gomastahs of the factories, not to rent nor purchase any lands, nor to lend to, nor borrow money from the zemindars and officers of the fircar; and that they must give up whatever taalooks they may have heretofore purchased. You will be pleased to give orders, that the purchase-money be returned; but I have received complaints from several places, that the officers of the fircar insist upon the former collections, and beat, and bind, and imprison the people; such proceedings are contrary to justice. You will therefore give them orders to return the purchase-money, and by no means to demand the past accounts.

THE chiefs and gomastahs of the factories shall be strictly directed not to obstruct the delolls and weavers of the fircar.

IF it is not agreeable to you, that the money and bullion of the English gentlemen and gomastahs should be coined
in

in the Patna and the Dacca mints, and it occasions a loss to the fircar, you will give orders to your drogahs there, not to receive from them any money or bullion for coining; yet the shroffs, upon being acquainted with this, will demand as much batta as they please, by which means the Company's business will be stopped. I hope, therefore, that you will write to the Naibs of Moorsheda-bad, Patna, and Dacca, that the money of the English Company, and gentlemen, must pay batta, according to the rate of the Bazar; and that they must punish the shroffs, in case of their demanding more.

THE gomastahs at Gwalparah shall be strictly charged to carry on their commercial business as formerly, and not to trade themselves with the mountaineers, but to make all their purchases and sales through the hands of the droga of the fircar. You will please to enjoin the droga, to deal with the English gomastahs in the same manner as with other merchants."

THE foregoing is the letter, * which we shall find in the sequel, wrested into a thousand different forms, to make it appear odious, introduced, on all occasions, with malevolent remarks, and loudly inveighed against, by the rest of the Council. I leave it without further notice, till my return to Calcutta, when enough will be said of it.

THE day after the delivery of this letter to the Nabob, I took my leave of him,

* Two of the articles mentioned in this letter, viz. the restriction of the trade to Rangamettee, and the prohibition to the Chittagong and Luckypoor factories, against making salt upon the grounds rented by the country merchants from the government, are not mentioned in the letter to the Board, of the 15th of December, where Mr. Hastings and I acquainted them with the regulations we proposed. The reason was, that the Nabob had not then entered into those particulars; but as he complained of these innovations afterwards in his letter, I could not deny him the justice he asked. It will be found hereafter, that the necessity of these restraints has been fully acknowledged, by extending them still farther; and that I gave up nothing to Meer Cossim out of personal regard, since I was equally ready to admit Meer Jaffier's rights, when he was re-established in the government.

him, and proceeded to Patna, where I arrived the 1st of January, and met with Mr. Ellis. I found that his animosity against the Nabob had taken root too deep to be moved, and I was confirmed in the opinion, that a reconciliation was not possible.

I STAYED only four days at Patna, in which time the Nabob's deputy laid before me his complaints; and requested, that such orders might be given thereupon, as to prevent any disputes happening in future. I conferred with Mr. Ellis upon all those points, heard his objections, and gave him my opinion fully. What we chiefly differed upon, were the Burbunna gate of the city, and the gunge.

THE Burbunna gate was a small wicket, in the north-west quarter of the city of Patna, which lay most convenient for our factory servants to pass in and out. The Nabob insisted upon shutting up this wicket, for the better preserving good order in the city; and Mr. Ellis declared it should not be done, because
it

it would be inconvenient to our servants, to go five or six hundred yards round to the common west-gate of the city. I was with Mr. Ellis on the spot, it seemed to me to be of no great consequence on either side, and the Nabob's right was indisputable. I told Mr. Ellis that this was my opinion, and he acquiesced. If he had been so candid, as to tell me then, that he thought it a matter of so much importance, that it ought to be referred to the Board, I would have endeavored to make the Nabob acquiesce, for fear of its becoming a party affair.

THE gunge was a large mart or market place, for importing grain for wholesale. In this country, as in all others, it is the right only of the government, to establish such marts where customs are collected, protections granted, and other acts of sovereignty exercised.

THIS * gunge, near the English factory at Patna, was set up without any right, grant, or order, either from the
Company,

* It went by the name of *Colonel Gunge*.

Company, or the Nabob; an authority such as no private person can be allowed; and it proved a continual source of disputes with the country government, for the advantage of particulars. On this subject Mr. Ellis seemed to be convinced, promised that he would suffer no more grain to be imported there; that he would remove what was in it as fast as he conveniently could, and abolish the gunge.

THE following is a copy of the answer I wrote to the Patna deputy's representations, after having fully discussed every article with Mr. Ellis; and I sent that gentleman a copy of it.

Translation of the Governor's Letter to Rajah Nobit Roy. Dated January 4, 1763.

“ I HAVE read the several requests which you wrote under separate heads. Agreeably to your desire, I have directed Mr. Ellis, the chief at Patna, to abolish colonel Gunge, and accordingly orders have, from this day, been given

given to the merchants, not to bring their goods there any more ; yet, as it is necessary, that some grain should be laid up in store for the Company, to be used in a time of scarcity, I have therefore directed Mr. Ellis to build some golas in such places as you shall think proper to appoint, and to purchase from the merchants of the gunge, and keep in the said golas about twenty thousand maunds of grain on the Company's account. After which, the merchants shall be at liberty to dispose of what they may have remaining, according to their own inclinations, or to keep it in the gunges of the fircar ; moreover, if they are inclined to serve the Company as heretofore, it is well ; and if they are desirous of settling in any of the fircar's gunges, they have liberty so to do. When you have fixed upon a place for erecting the golas, you will send your servant with a note to Mr. Ellis, and you will allow what time may be necessary for removing the grain from the old golas to the

new ones, that no unreasonable losſs may fall upon the merchants.

W I T H regard to what you write about not holding any taalooks, and not lending to, nor borrowing from the officers and zemindars, orders have already been given to this purport, and I underſtand, that no body has done ſuch things ; however, I have now repeated thoſe orders.

Y O U ſay, that numbers of merchants carry away their goods for ſale, under the protection of the factory, and that I ſhould enquire into this matter. It has of old been cuſtomary, that a duſtuck ſhould be granted, with whatever cloth, &c. is purchaſed by the merchants, from the Engliſh Company and gentlemen, and that they ſhould accordingly carry away the goods, and ſell them wherever they pleaſe ; this is no new cuſtom, and this is the only protection afforded them.

Y O U complain, that the merchants carry away goods, the produce of this country, from the factory into the provinces, with regard to ſuch goods as are
bought

presence, and in that of several merchants, whether he had a copy of the obligation or not. He answered, that “Deyuchund complained to him, that Beenymadoo, an English gomastah, had taken an obligation from him, and had forbid him trading in opium, and that therefore it could not be expected he should pay the usual duties ;” and that he shewed him a copy of the obligation, but did not leave it with him. Now it is uncertain, whether this story be true, or whether the merchant was prompted by his own interest, to impose upon the aumil, that he might avoid paying the duties ; it is therefore proper you should send for the merchant, and enquire into the affair, in presence of Mr. Ellis, whom I have directed to inflict a proper punishment upon the gomastah, in case the complaint be proved ; and in case it appears to be false, you, on your part, should inflict a proper punishment upon the merchant. •

WITH regard to the fircar’s salt, that is in the hands of Meer Mahomed Ashruff,

shuff, it appears, from the account he shewed me, that he has, in different places, disposed of 23,596 maunds, and that he has now remaining upon his hands 27,333 maunds; I enquired of him, in your presence, what was the reason of his having disposed of so small a quantity only, in such a length of time. He replied, that “in many places there was salt belonging to the English gentlemen; and it was not in his power to stop the sale of their merchandize, in order to dispose of the fircar’s; and that, notwithstanding the obligation entered into by the merchants of the city, the officers of several of the neighboring places, did not put a stop to the business of other merchants, so that it was impossible he should sell the government’s salt, at an advanced price, whilst they sold theirs at the former price.” As the business of the merchants of the city has been stopped for three or four months, by which they have suffered greatly, and as they will be entirely ruined, if their business continues to be so stopped, I would

therefore advise you to take back what salt of the fircar's remains unfold, and to dispose of it at the market price; for the Nabob will by no means approve of injuring the merchants.

YOU should examine Meer Ashruff's account, whether he has sold agreeably thereto, or more than is therein specified; in case he has sold more, it is reasonable that you should take from him whatever money he has received for it; but if his account be just, he is not in fault, receive the money from him accordingly, and make no further demands. I shall acquaint the Nabob with all these particulars, and he will inform you of his pleasure.

YOU desire Mr. Ellis may be directed not to send any money or bullion to the mints to be coined. This affair is within the limits of your own authority. Give orders to the droga of the mint, not to receive any money or bullion, that may be brought by the servants of the factory to be coined; and write to Mr. Ellis, that if he chuses it, you will

will coin money for him on the same terms as for other merchants, or else that he may exchange it at the Bazar price.

I UNDERSTAND what you write concerning the revenues of Birrumpoor village, and the Nezzerranna for the salt-petre. Some thousand rupees were at different times paid by the Company to Raja Ramnarain's army ; of which I saw the particulars in the Company's books, and I have directed Mr. Ellis to make out the account ; and after having deducted Rajah Ramnarain's debt, to pay the balance into the fircar's treasury.

IT is proper that you should look upon me as one interested in your welfare, and let me have the pleasure of hearing from you."

I THINK it will be generally admitted, that all these regulations made and proposed, both at Mongheer and Patna, were entirely agreeable to justice and equity, and well calculated for the benefit both of the Nabob's government,

and the Company's, and to prevent disputes between them. I did not doubt of this appearing in the same light to the gentlemen of the Council in Calcutta, and assured myself, that they would have so much regard for their public utility, as to have joined with me heartily in establishing them, even if they should be found in any part to interfere in some measure with their private advantages; but I soon found the contrary; and that the heads of the party had taken this opportunity of encreasing their strength, by representing to the rest of the Council, that I had an intention of cutting off the most profitable branches of their trade. We shall soon see the violent effect which the propagation of this doctrine produced.

I LEFT Patna the 5th of January, and called for one day at Mongheer, where I saw the Nabob, ready to proceed on the expedition to Beteea and Napaul, his army having already crossed the river. It may not be improper to take notice of the state of the Nabob's forces

forces at this time, and the service on which they were going.

AT his accession to the Subahship his army, which stood upon the books of the government at the rate of upwards of ninety thousand men, was composed of the same forces, which had successively served the Nabobs Aliverdi Cawn, Serajah Dowla, and Jaffier Alle Cawn, and some of the principal jemmatdar had been in the service even beyond the time of Serfraz Cawn; little dependence could be placed on such troops, and the servants of so many masters; for this reason,* as soon as the Nabob had got possession of the province of Patna, he disbanded the greatest part of his army, intending to raise new troops upon a different establishment. In this work he had advanced so slowly, that when I was at Mongheer, his new raised cavalry did not amount to two thousand men; and his whole force consisted of about sixteen thousand horse, and three battalions of seepoys, besides an inconsiderable number of peons, who were kept rather

ther for shew than use. With this force he planned and attempted the reduction of the kingdom of Napaul, and crossed the great river in person, with his army, leaving his family and treasure at Mong-heer.

I HAVE been particular upon this subject, because it has been often asserted, that he had at this time entertained the design of breaking with the English. Had this really been the case, or could he even have suspected, that he had given a plea to his enemies amongst the English to make war against him; can it be imagined, that he would have engaged at such a time in a foreign war; and by crossing the great river, which a single battalion of our seepoys from Patna might have prevented him from repassing, left his family and treasure at Mong-heer, and the whole province exposed to our arms? In effect, nothing was more opposite to his interest, or even his disposition, little reason as he had to be satisfied at our behaviour to him. His great object from the beginning, and which

which his natural talents were best suited to, was the increase and improvement of his revenues; but for war he was totally unfit, from his excessive and known timidity; and I believe I may with safety ascribe to this cause, his passiveness and forbearance in the many provocations which were given him. He knew too well the weight of the English power, to wish to expose his life and government to so unequal a risk.

WE left Mongheer the 9th of January, and the 14th arrived at Cossimbuzar. In the way I received an answer * from the Council of the 27th of December, to the joint letter addressed them the 15th of that month, by Mr. Hastings and me, which had been forwarded to Patna and returned. With respect to the proposal mentioned in that letter, of leaving Mr. Hastings with the Nabob, it could have been to no purpose,

as

* This letter arriving at Mongheer after my departure, followed me to Patna; where it also arriving after I had set out from that place, Mr. Ellis dispatched it back to me, and it reached me a little below Mongheer, after I had parted from the Nabob.

as the Nabob was then setting out upon a distant expedition ; and indeed, I hoped it would at any rate prove unnecessary ; not in the least doubting, from the justice and usefulness of the regulations which I had made, that the Board on my arrival in Calcutta would readily confirm them. The following are copies of the letter from the Council, and of my answer from Cossimbuzar.

The Board's Letter to the Governor and Mr. Hastings. Dated December 27, 1762.

“ **W**E have received your letter of the 15th instant. We have paid due regard to the substance thereof ; but as the articles now drawn up, or that may be concluded on, must in all probability prove the standard and limitation of our inland trade for all future years, it is proper that it should be maturely considered, and determined on by a full Board. We have therefore ordered the letter to lye on the table, until the President's return to Calcutta, when we shall
come

come to a final resolution on the subject ; and would on that account recommend his leaving Mr. Hastings with the Nabob, to ratify such articles as may be then agreed on.

AND we think further, that the opinions of as many of the members of the Board should be taken on this matter, as can be conveniently collected. We beg leave to advise the President's talking with Mr. Ellis for that purpose.

WE shall write to Luckypoor, agreeable to what you recommend, regarding the zemindarree of Bauboopoor ; and also forward to Dacca the orders on Mahomed Allee. We must however remark, that we were in hopes, from the manner the President expressed himself in a former letter, that Mahomed Allee would have been dismissed from his employ with disgrace, and obliged to make restitution for the damages sustained by the delays he had occasioned. And we must needs say, that we think these are points which ought still to be insisted on ; as we cannot esteem his being ordered to
refund

refund the extorted duties any satisfaction ; because we cannot see any right or authority he (Mahomed Allee) had to exact these additional duties, or cause the interruptions he did, until a treaty of the nature now proposed had been concluded."

Extract of a Letter from the Governor to the Board. Dated Cossimbuzar, January 15, 1763.

"**W**ITH respect to Mahomed Allee, the collector at Dacca, I could not refuse a proposition so reasonable, as what the Nabob made ; that is, that he should have an opportunity of answering for himself. Inclosed I send you copies of his addresses to the Nabob, on the subject of the complaints against him.

MIRZA ALLEE REZZA is appointed ameen to go and enquire upon the spot ; and orders should be sent to the chiefs of Dacca, Chittagong, and Luckypoor, to produce what proofs they can of the facts complained of, to the said ameen.

I CAN

I CAN venture to assure you, the Nabob will not be backward in punishing Mahomed Allee, if he proves guilty. Torrut Sing, the amuldar of Taugepoor, being convicted of killing Mr. Gray's gomastah, has received sentence to be hanged at the place where the violence was committed; and Sheer Allee, for endeavoring to screen him, and his ill behavior to our gomastahs in general, will be dismissed from his government of Poorneea.

I OBSERVE, what you mention concerning the inland trade, in your letter to Mr. Hastings and me jointly; the Company's dustuck never having been granted for those articles of trade by any former governors; neither shall I think myself empowered to grant them, without the orders of our Honorable Masters; and therefore to prevent our being liable to have our goods stopped for duties, at many different places, as is the case with the country merchants, I wished to have those duties made up in the most reasonable manner into one sum, to be paid at
one

one place before the dispatch of the goods. After getting what information we could, I agreed with the Nabob that they should be rated at 9 per cent. upon the purchase-price; which being paid before the dispatch of the goods, and the dustuck of the country government taken, they should be liable to no other demands throughout the three provinces. You will observe, that this is less than the Luckypoor gentlemen, in their letter of the 6th of November last, mention, they have always paid upon salt and tobacco, which are the principal objects of this trade. In my way down, I took an account from the agents of some Patna and Hoogly merchants, of what they had paid, and were liable to pay for the salt under their charge, by which you will perceive, that the fir-carree duties only, without reckoning the dustore taken at the several chokeys, amounts, by the lowest of the several informations, to more than 25 rupees per 100 maunds. I have sent a copy of this account to the Nabob, and recommended

mended to him to free the merchants in general from such a variety of demands, by receiving from them in like manner a reasonable rate of customs in one place only.

I YESTERDAY sent for the principal shroffs of the city, and enquired of them, why they refused to exchange the Calcutta siccas; and as they are struck with the name of Moorshedabad, how they could distinguish them from those which are struck in the Moorshedabad mint? They replied, that the stamp was not so well made at Calcutta, and that the rupees, for the most part, are too broad and thin, by which they could distinguish them. I desired Mr. Batson to send for some, and upon examination, found the observation of the shroffs to be very true; however, they agreed to receive them, and promised to do so in future; the Nabob's deputy was present, and assured me, he would enforce it, whenever Mr. Batson may apply to him; but it is necessary, that our mint-master take all possible care to make our ru-

pees equal in every respect to those of Moorshedabad, and if possible so alike, that they may not be distinguished one from another.

HAVING received from Mr. Amyatt the news of the French cruizers in Ballasore road, I shall set out from hence to-morrow morning, with relays of bearers, to Mirzapoor, from whence I shall proceed in a light boat to Calcutta, so that I shall probably arrive as soon as this letter.

I LEFT major Adams at Patna, and he intends to return by the Pachaet road."

THE day after the dispatch of this letter I set out from Cossimbuzar, upon the news of the French ships being in Ballasore road, and arrived in Calcutta the 18th.

SECTION

SECTION XI.

The general Assembly of the Council,
and their Proceedings.

The Regulations circulated by the Nabob.—

*Copy sent to the Board by the Chief of
Dacca.—The Members of the Council called
down from the subordinate Factories.—*

*Letter from Mr. Cartier to the Board,
on the Subject of his Letter to the Col-
lector of Dacca.—Letter from Mes.*

*Johnstone, Hay and Bolts to the Board,
on the Subject of theirs, to the Fouge-
dar of Poorneea.—Letter from the*

*Chief and Council of Dacca to the Board,
with a Persian Copy of Mr. Vansittart's
Letter of Regulations.—Mr. Gulston's*

*Translation of it.—The Nabob's Orders
to his Collector at Dacca.—Minutes of
Council upon these.—Mr. Vansittart's*

*Minute in Council, on the Subject of the
above Proceedings.—Violence of the Na-
bob's Officers.—Exaggerated Complaints*

*against them.—Orders from the Board
to Luckypoor and Dacca.—Mr. A-*

myatt's *Minute in Answer to Mr. Vansittart's*.—*First Meeting of the general Council*.—*Motion for calling Major Carnac to the Board*.—*The Motion carried*.—*Mr. Amyatt's Minute at the Opening of the general Council*.—*Remarks on it*.—*Difficulty of acting between the Nabob and the Council*.—*Mr. Vansittart's Minute in Council*.—*Fresh Complaints from Patna and Dacca Factories*.—*Resolutions of the Board thereupon, empowering the Factories to make Use of Force*.—*Mr. Vansittart's Letter to the Nabob, acquainting him with it*.—*Major Carnac's Letter to the Board, desiring to be reinstated in the Command of the Troops at Patna*.—*Letter from the Chief and Council at Patna to the Board, concerning the Gunge*.—*Plan for conducting the Proceedings of the general Council*.—*Debate concerning the Burbunna Gate and the Gunge*.—*Letter to the Nabob, containing the Resolutions of the Majority for opening the Burbunna Gate*.—*The Gunge ordered to be abolished*.—*Questions*

to be debated, relative to the Regulations and the private Trade.—Complaint from Luckypoor against the Nabob's Officers.—Orders to seize the Officers.—Debates upon the before-mentioned Questions.—Resolutions of the Board.—Question proposed, what Articles of Trade should pay Duties to the Nabob, and what Duties?—Debate upon it, and the Conclusion.—Remarks on it.—Mr. Hastings's additional Minute in Council.—Letter from the Nabob to his Collector at Dacca, concerning the Stoppage of some Goods belonging to Mr. Vansittart.—Letter from Mr. Vansittart to the Nabob on that Subject.—Further Complaints against the Nabob's Officers.—Fougedar of Rangamattee ordered to be seized.—Plan for deciding Disputes between our Agents and the Nabob's Officers.—Remarks upon it.—The Nabob returns from his Expedition.—Much alarmed by the general Assembly of the Council.—Three Letters from him to the Governor.—Letter from the Governor in Answer.—Mr. Johnstone's Motion.—Debate up-

on it, and the Resolutions of the Board.

*—Mes. Amyatt and Hay appointed to go on a Deputation to the Nabob.—Great Disturbances between the Nabob's Officers and our Factories at Patna and Dacca.—A Detachment from Patna seizes the Nabob's Officer at Mow, who is kept Prisoner in the Factory.—Part of that Detachment attacked and carried before the Nabob, who releases them.—Several Letters from the Chief and Council at Patna to the Board, and from the Nabob to the Governor upon their Grievances.—Letter to the Nabob, containing the Resolutions of the Board upon the foregoing.—The Nabob publishes a general Exemption of Duties.—Debate upon that Subject, with the Resolution of the Board to insist on the Nabob's annulling that Act.—Mes. Johnstone and Hay accuse Mr. Vansittart of having made a private Agreement with the Nabob for the Benefit of his own Trade.—Mr. Vansittart's Answers.—Two Letters from the Nabob, containing a warm Remonstrance against
the*

the Proceedings of the Board.—Letter from the Chief and Council at Patna, with an Account of a Fray between some of their Seepoys, and the Nabob's Forces at Gyah. — The Board offended at the Nabob's Letters. — Debate in Consequence, whether Mes. Amyatt and Hay should proceed on their Deputation. — Agreed, they should set out, and wait the Nabob's Answer at Cossimbuzar.

IT had been agreed between the Nabob and me, that' after my arrival at Calcutta, the regulations should be sent from the Council to the different factories, with his orders to his officers, which he gave me for that purpose; but instead of this, I had hardly left him, when he dispatched copies of my letter to his officers in all parts of the country, with general orders for their observance; and a direction, that all English gomastahs, who refused to comply with them, should be turned out of the country. Copies of these being delivered by the Nabob's officer at Dacca, to

the chief of our factory, were by him immediately forwarded to the Board, with a letter filled with the most aggravated representations of the loss, which would accrue from them to the private commerce, and of the encroachments upon what they called our privileges. My letter, which contained the regulations, was put into the hands of Mr. Gulston *to be translated, and was by him rendered into English, with a pedantick singularity of stile, and an affected precision and positiveness, especially in such passages, as were called by the Board an attack upon their rights. These aggravations served but too effectually to add fuel to minds, already disposed to catch fire from the slightest occasion; and lest any thing should be wanting, to carry the designs of the party to the most violent extremes, Major Carnac, who had no concern, or any right to interfere in such matters, was called upon to join his opinion to that, which the Board thought proper to pass upon those regulations;

* At that time Persian translator.

lations; and I will take upon me to mention him as the author and director of the resolution, to call down all the members of the Board, from the subordinate factories to the Presidency, to give a sanction to the measures which he had long had in view, and which were now to be carried into execution.

AND although it is certain, that the unheard of privileges, this assembly came prepared to insist on, must necessarily produce a rupture with the Nabob, yet the Nabob, by his own folly, made the danger more sudden and unavoidable. He could no way have given his enemies a greater advantage, than by dispatching as he did copies of my letter, to all parts of the country, and enjoining his aumils to enforce the immediate observance of the regulations therein proposed, without waiting until directions in consequence were sent from Calcutta to our factories jointly, with the orders to his officers, which he delivered me for that purpose. It is plain, by my letter to the Nobit Roy (p. 176) that I
did

did not intend the regulations should take place till general orders were sent every where; and the Nabob himself well knew, that my orders could not take place, till joined with those of the Board, which he had therefore desired me to obtain. Of course I expected the Nabob would wait, till I could write him from Calcutta of the resolutions of the Council; if he had, he would have found, that they opposed every part of the regulations, and he would have had time to determine, whether he would submit to their demands or not. Instead of that, his officers proceeding immediately to make use of force, obliged me to join with the rest of the Board in restraining them; and thus, one act of hostility following another, gave the discontented on each side a continual opportunity of widening the breach, and at length rendering it irreparable.

MR. Cartier's * letter to the Nabob's collector at Dacca, and † that of Mes.

John-

Johnstone, Hay and Bolts, to the fougadar of Poorneea, have been already taken notice of in this narrative, with my reasons for laying them before the Council, that they might prevent the ill consequences which such a licentiousness must produce to our own government, and our connections with the Nabob, if every private person took upon himself to threaten the Nabob's officers with the effects of the English power, and prescribe rules for their conduct. Mes. Johnstone and Hay (who were members of the Board) pretending, that their characters were designedly aimed at by the charge against them, replied to it, with the bitterest invectives and recriminations upon myself. Mr. Cartier in less violent terms justified his own behavior, by producing the English draught of the letter he intended to write, and which was a decent representation of his complaints; but his moonshee wrote the Persian original in the terms in which it here appears (p. 147.)

IN the conclusion, the Board vindicated the behavior of those gentlemen, and approved of the censures which they had taken upon them to cast upon myself; and this affair became a fresh aggravation of the party rage against me.

IT was not till after my arrival in Calcutta, that I suspected any objections could be made to the regulations which I had settled with the Nabob. With this I was first acquainted by Mr. Amyatt, who told me, orders had been sent for the members of the Board to come down from the subordinate settlements; and I expected accordingly the most violent opposition. But when I called for, and perused the proceedings of the Board upon this subject, nothing could exceed my astonishment at the injurious aspersions, and the illiberal invectives, with which they had recorded their disapprobation of my conduct, exceeding even the extremest bounds, to which I could have expected the most inveterate malice of party would have led them. A copy of those proceedings I shall

shall here enter at large, consisting of Mr. Cartier's letter to the Board, explaining the intention of his letter to the Nabob's collector at Dacca. Mess. Johnstone and Hay's letter upon the subject of that which they wrote to the fougadar of Poorneea; the letter from the chief and council at Dacca, inclosing Persian copies of mine to the Nabob, which contained the regulations, and the Nabob's orders to his officer on the occasion; Mr. Gulston's translations of those Persian copies, and the resolutions of the Board.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Cartier to the Council. Dated January 9, 1763.

“ **B** EING called upon by the council of this factory, for an explanation of a letter wrote to Mahomed Allee, collector of the revenues at Dacca; I think proper, with the consent of the gentlemen here, to address myself to the Board on this occasion; and at the same time, to declare the pleasure it affords me, to vindicate any part of my conduct,

conduct, that may appear dark or mysterious, before so just a tribunal.

THE letter addressed to Mahomed Allee was wrote and sent him the 9th of October ; a copy of which, and his answer, I forwarded to Mr. Vanfittart ; the same was received by that gentleman, during his abode at the French gardens. When an entire interruption was put to all commerce, our servants plundered, and used ill, the flag grossly insulted, even in the city, and almost under our eye ; when our intercourse to Calcutta by letters was one time stopped ; in what shape was I to act, but in the manner I did ? Mahomed Allee was pointed out, by the whole country, as the principal encourager of these grievances and insults. On my applying to him for redress, by the dewan and vackeel of the factory, he constantly denied having the least hand in them. I therefore thought it best, in such a situation of affairs, to apply myself to him by letter, and to demand a positive declaration as to the cause of these disturbances. His answer
was

was such, as might be expected from an intriguing man, in every respect evasive and unsatisfactory.

YOU think, gentlemen, the stile of my letter was rather improper, and tending to promote those evils, which you have taken so much pains to remedy ; namely, a jealousy and distrust. I must beg leave, gentlemen, to dissent from you in this opinion ; and maintain, that the extravagant and vexatious behavior of the government was the cause of those evils ; and raised, I may venture to say, both jealousy and distrust in every breast. In such a conjuncture, I think an Englishman cannot speak too bold ; I only wrote, what I imagined would have a proper effect on the mind of a man, who I supposed acted from his own judgment, and without a legal order. The system of the present government must be entirely changed within these twelve months, if the ears of the officers in it, are too delicate to bear with a warm remonstrance.

I CAN conceive my letter to Mahomed Allee to be nothing more ; and considering the importance of the affair not too warm. As chief of this factory, I esteemed it my particular duty, to support those privileges our nation are invested with ; and had I tamely submitted to such a gross invasion of them, without any endeavor on my side to procure redress, I think I should be unworthy of the post I hold, and deservedly despised by the generality of the world.

I HOPE, gentlemen, the above will be sufficient to ascertain to you the just motives that induced me to write the said letter, and satisfy you (considering the occasion) the stile of it was not altogether improper.

THE original letter I now inclose you, from which the Persian translation was made, though the purport of it is little different from the copy sent up in your general letter."

Copy

Copy of a Letter from Mess. Johnstone and Hay to the Council. Dated January 14, 1763.

“ **W**E have received the copy of a letter, wrote by the President to the Board, complaining of Mr. Bolts’s conduct in writing a letter in the name of Messieurs Johnstone, Hay and Bolts, to the Poorneea fougedar, representing the grievances and oppressions that our gomastahs met with, in transacting our business in that country, and asserting the privileges of the firmaun ; and at the same time recommending to you, to inflict a censure or punishment on Mr. Bolts for the same. We therefore think it necessary, and our duty to inform you, gentlemen, that Mr. Vansittart, when he cast the whole of that transaction on Mr. Bolts, did it not with any good reason, as we were both acquainted with the contents of the letter, and of its being sent ; and we cannot help thinking, from the terms of his letter, that it was wrote with no other design, than to shew how blameable we were in his eyes, and how we ought to

be treated; but we hope you gentlemen will judge otherwise. We are so far from thinking with the President, that it is criminal to assert the privilege of the firmatin, that we think every one that does not, little deserves the benefit of it: and that its being asserted in private letters, can never weaken the Company's government, or prove prejudicial to their true interest. The justness of our gomastahs complaints, to which we refer, and which gave occasion to our letter to Sheer Allee Cawn, will appear by his answer; in which he acknowledges, that by the Nabob's orders our trade shall be entirely confined to that of ready money purchases, contrary to the established customs throughout the country, and which must of consequence put a stop to all trade, or fetter it in a manner, unknown before, in the worst of times in Bengal.

Our letter, as translated by Mr. Gulston, which we now lay before the Board, we hope will appear unexceptionable; for when it is said, in case we did not find an end was put to the
oppre f-

oppressions which we complained of, that we would make application to the Nabob, for redress for ourselves and others; it is not to be imagined, that we should have procured this application to the Nabob, otherwise than from your Board; and this was our intention. But Mr. Vansittart is of a different opinion, and takes great exception at its being said to be done in the English name, and redress obtained for others. Had he thought proper to have mentioned it to either of the partners residing in Calcutta, he might have been satisfied, that there was no bad design in using the word *others*; but that it was introduced entirely by mistake; and we have reason to think, Mr. Vansittart was not unacquainted with the contents of that letter before he left Calcutta, as our gomastah wrote us after the receipt of the letter, the fougadar would not send us his answer, till it was approved of by the President, for which purpose it was sent by the fougadar with one of his own to Calcutta. And we did not receive the answer till

some days after Mr. Vansittart's departure from Calcutta.

THE unwillingness the President had to believe complaints of this nature, and more particularly that they were owing to the Nabob's orders, induced us to address Sheer Allee Cawn in the manner we did, to see whether he would answer us, as he did our gomastah ; and on this, to have a foundation for applying to your Honorable Board for redress. You will please to remark, that Sheer Allee Cawn represents Dadney advanced for goods, as money let out at interest ; which latter business our gomastahs never carried on ; and we cannot conceive, that the misbehavior of a few gomastahs in that or any other way, when proved, joined to the many groundless complaints of the government, should be esteemed sufficient cause for the Nabob to usurp, or we to give up the privileges of the English Company in this country ; when, at the same time, so many well grounded causes of complaint have been given by the servants
of

of the Nabob, to those who by the Company's indulgence have the privilege of dustucks, and of course are exempt from all duties, and their protection; that these privileges for several months have been greatly infringed in some parts, and entirely taken away in others, by the country government, is what we, as well as most English traders, except the President, have severely felt in our private fortunes.

WE received a letter from our agent Mr. Robinson, at Gwalparah, informing us of the difficulties he labored under, from the obstacles thrown in the way of our trade, and the danger with which he was threatened by the fougedar of Rangamettee, which he represented as greatly fomented and encreased by the arrival and practices of one Gongaram Metre, who was come there in August, and assumed to himself, on the strength of his perwannah from the Governor, the office of inquisitor, and supervisor of the agents of the English, &c. in those parts. The perwannah, extracts of Mr.

Robinson's letter, Gongaram Metre's letter to Mr. Tiexeira, and the letter from the Rangamettee fougedar to Mr. Robinson, are submitted to your consideration, some of these were forwarded to the Governor, requesting the necessary redress; in answer, we have received through him a perwannah from the Nabob to the fougedar of Rangamettee, as per subjoined translation, directing him not to obstruct our trade, or collect duties on goods provided for exportation, or that come from Calcutta with a dustuck, but to levy the usual duties on other goods, and to send to himself and the President, an account of the rates according to which they pay. This, we humbly conceive, is contrary to the articles of our treaty with the Nabob, and reduces us again to those privileges we enjoyed before the time of Meer Jaffer Cawn, and which we imagine was not the sentiments of the majority of the Board, at the time the President left it. By this perwannah, however, we have not got the least satisfaction for the

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the insults and losses we have sustained, by obstructing our trade, both inland and Calcutta; but, on the contrary, it is left to the fougédars discretion, who has been guilty of the violences and losses we complained of, to fix the rates of the duties on the different articles of inland trade; on which, to the best of our knowledge, the Company's servants, that have traded there, since the treaty with Jaffier Allee Cawn, never yet paid any, and of course there could be no custom to follow, which scheme, should it take place, would reduce us on a footing with (if not below) the traders of the country, as is the wish of the Governor's agent in that part, probably in the imagination, that this may be a means of throwing the whole trade into their hands, by the extraordinary interest Mr. Vanfittart has with the Nabob.

WHATEVER opinion the President may entertain of Mr. Cartier, or Mr. Chevalier; they have had the happiness hitherto to be esteemed by every body that knows them. The gentleman we

sent up, Mr. Robinson, had the permission and approbation of the Board; we think, therefore, if such grievances as were alledged against English agents and gomastahs, really existed in these parts, the subjecting them to the scrutiny and supervisal of black dependents, of whatever denomination, without the knowledge of the Board, was an indignity offered to it, to us, and to every gentleman concerned; and, however the propagating such notions in this country may serve to strengthen the hands of the government, we humbly conceive it can give but a very odd opinion of the other members to whom it is jointly entrusted.

IN the course of the business we have carried on, we have met with the greatest impediments in almost all parts, but in particular in Poorneea, the Rungpoor, districts of Gwalparah and Rangamettee, from the different fougedars, zemindars, Mr. Moore, Gongaram Metre, &c. the accounts of which, as we have received them from our agents, we now lay before you, and hope you will procure for

us that satisfaction and redress which we have hitherto been unable to obtain."

Copy of a Letter from the Chief and Council of Dacca to the Board. Dated January 10, 1763.

"**W**E did ourselves the honor to write you yesterday, and have since been surprized by the receipt of two papers (which came inclosed for your perusal) from the Naib, and from Mahomed Allee of this place, who desired to be informed what degree of regard we intend to pay the orders they contained? To which we replied, that we did not care to acquiesce with the terms of those papers, as the President and Council of Calcutta, on whom alone it rested to give a sanction to such commands, had not thought proper to transmit us any such instructions. We know not in what light you will look on these directions to the Naib of this place, but hope you will approve the reply we made, and will pardon us the liberty of addressing a few lines on this subject.

ject. The immediate circulation of these articles throughout the country, will be attended with very bad consequences to the Company's investment, and must entirely ruin most of us at this place, who, on the faith of treaties, or public indulgencies, have large concerns abroad, which never can be collected in, if these privileges, without any previous notice, be snatched from us. The protection of our gomastahs and servants, from the oppression and jurisdiction of the zemindars, and their cucherrees, has ever been found to be a liberty highly essential, both to the honor and interest of our nation; and we apprehend the utility of it for carrying on every kind of business, but especially the provision of cloth, is so well known to you, gentlemen, that it is needless for us to add more, as you will at once perceive the numberless vexations and interruptions we shall meet with, if the zemindars have authority, on every slight dispute, to summon and confine our gomastahs, whenever they think proper.

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The injunction, with respect to dustucks, affects every article of commerce, except such as are imported on shipping. Mr. Cartier being enjoined not to give one for any article that is the produce of Bengal, and to pay a duty of nine per cent. to the Nabob, on every merchandize not brought in or sent by sea. This surely cannot be meant, but the words seem too equivocal not to make us wish to have your sense of them, on so important a point. A duty once fixed, could scarce be a burden; but if added to this, we are subjected to vexatious applications to the Nabob's officers for dustucks, it will be a grievance we shall indeed feel. The dignity and benefit of our dustucks, are the chief badges of honor, or at least interest, we enjoy from our first firmaun, and has been held in such esteem, as to secure our effects from those depredations, which the natives suffer in passing their goods through the country; and if these new duties on all the products of the country are thought just, may not the Nabob be properly secured

cured of them, by the Shahbunder's receipt for the custom being affixed to the back of every duffuck, previous to its being signed ? This will surely ascertain, in the most ample form, the duties to the Nabob, and free us from the principal grievance we can feel from their encrease. The prohibition, with respect to tofals, is a restraint not even put on the Moguls and natives, the liberty of erecting new ones, so far from being injurious to the Nabob, absolutely enhances his customs, by clearing lands, that would have otherwise been uninhabited ; and the order to purchase every thing for ready money, amounts nearly to an exclusion from all such branches of trade, as the venders will then impose on us whatever prices they judge proper.

WITH respect to Assam, we must beg leave to observe, that the Nabob, or his fougedar of Rangamettee, can have no more right to regulate the terms of our commerce with the natives of that country, than with those of China. All the
power

power he exerts over our gomastahs is arbitrary and oppressive ; and neither justice nor antient customs can warrant such abuses, or regulate his officers in the collecting of taxes, tho' the whole direction is now referred to his droga of Rangamettee. No duties have ever yet been paid on lack, muggadooties, and other goods brought from Assam ; those goods may surely be esteemed imports when they are brought into Bengal, and may be intitled to our dustucks.

ALL our privileges, all our fortunes, and future prospects, depend upon the result of your deliberation on these points ; and we hope, let what will be your sentiments, you will be pleased to suspend the execution of them, till our present concerns are collected in, with our antient indulgencies. No treaty of commerce in any country has been carried into execution, or fresh duties levied, without a previous declaration for as long a term, as was adequate to the settlement of those concerns that were to be influenced by such new regulations ;
and

and we flatter ourselves, that we shall not become objects of unexampled severity on this occasion. The trade of the servants has ever been thought intitled to your protection; and we hope, if particular branches are now to be given up, we shall still be indulged with the influence of your authority, and privilege of our dustucks, till we can finish our present engagements. If you refuse us this request, gentlemen, you undo us at once; as the publication of these orders from Mongheer, with the stamp of your authority, will so affect our national credit and influence in the country, as must for ever disable us from collecting in the large sums we have outstanding.

If we have obtruded on the Board more than is deemed fit, or presumed in any part of this to advise, where obedience was due, we crave your pardon, and shall be ready to pay the utmost respect to any orders transmitted by your Board."

Mr.

*Mr. Gullston's Translation of the Governor's letter to the Nabob *.*

" **Y**OUR gracious perwannah is arrived, and has greatly honored me. I am informed of all the particulars of your high commands.

It shall be written to the chiefs of our factories, that they are to give a dustuck for the buying and selling of ship merchandize; and for merchandize, that they buy and sell in every district for traffick in this country, they are to do according to custom of other traders and merchants, and not to give the Company's dustuck. They are to take a dustuck from the bix-bunder, or shah-bunder, paying in upon the cost of the merchandize nine per cent. including wharfs, and other receipts of custom; nor shall they use any manner of force or violence, extortion or unfair dealing.

It is hoped, that your Excellency's perwannahs will be issued out to the fougedars

* To be compared with that entered page 168.

gedars and other officers of the government, that the Company's duffuck is to go along with the purchase and fale of fhip merchandize ; and they are by no means to ftop it, or demand the fmalleft custom ; nor fhall they hinder the purchase and fale of commodities for country trade, but they are to give duffucks, receiving the duties on coft of the merchandize, agreeable to your Excellency's high command ; and the drogaf at the chokeys are only to take copies of the duffuck, without demanding any thing.

HERETOFORE it was written to all the chiefs of our factories, to forbid them injuring the country people and inhabitants of the pergunahs, and protecting the dependents and fervants of the fircar, and damaging the affairs of the fircar. Now repeated direftions fhall be fent, that they are to refrain from fuch proceedings ; and further, confidering the officer of the government as magiftrate where they are, in cafe of any trouble or difputes happening, they

they are to appear before that magistrate and have them settled.

LET your Excellency's instructions be sent to the fougedars and officers, that they are to determine disputes of our factors with justice and truth without partiality; and, if any one complains against a factor, to send for him, and settle the affair, face to face; and if a factor has a complaint against any one, to consider it well, and so determine it.

IT has been written to the chiefs of Islamabad and Luckypoor, that they shall not make salt works, nor hinder the merchants and farmers of the salt works, that pay revenues to the government, but to buy what they want of them at a reasonable rate. The two letters to the chiefs aforesaid, being inclosed with this address.

AN order will be sent to the chiefs and servants of all our factories, that they are not to farm or buy lands; and whatever they may have bought heretofore to resign it.

LET your Excellency's order be passed, that the price of the purchase be likewise returned.

BUT from several places, there is come complaint, that the officers of the fircar importune for former collections, and beat, bind, and confine the people, which doings, are far from being just.

LET your Excellency's order be passed, that they return back the price of the purchase, and never demand old accounts.

THE chiefs and servants of the factories will be directed, that they are not to hinder the brokers and weavers of the government.

AND if your Excellency is not pleased, that the money and bullion of English gentlemen and their factors should be made into ficcas, in the mints of Azimabad and Ichangirnagurr, and by it there will be a loss to the fircar ; let the drogas of those places be ordered, not to receive the money and bullion of the English to be made into ficcas. But, upon hearing this, the money-changers will demand as exchange just what they want,

want, and the Company's business will be impeded by this means.

It is hoped, that a perwannah will be issued out to the Naibs of Moorshedabad, Ichangirnagurr and Azimabad, that the exchange on money of the English Company and gentlemen, shall be taken according to the market currency; and in case of exaction, to bring the money-changers to punishment.

DIRECTIONS will be sent to the factor (gomastah) at Gwalparah, that he is to transact business of traffic, as was the custom heretofore; and he is not to trade with the people of the mountains; whatever he has to buy or sell in that place, he is to do by means of the officer of the government. Let your Excellency's orders be sent to the droga, that he is to deal with the English factors, as with other merchants."

*Mr. Gulston's Translation of the Nabob's
Perwannab to Mahomed Allee Beg.*

“ **I**N the month of Jemady-ath-thany, the fourth year of his Majesty's reign, agreeing with the 1176th of the Hegira, Mr. Vansittart came to visit me at Mongheer. Seeing that you wrote an excuse for not collecting the balances in the country, because of the disturbances of the English factors; therefore all country disputes, and the traffic of the English factors, were settled; and the Governor aforesaid has accordingly given me written security, under his own hand, and a copy thereof, under seal of the magistrate, is sent inclosed; you are to act in conformance to it, not differing in a single point, either more or less from it; and further, you are to shew the said copy to the English gentlemen and their factors, and tell them, that they are to transact all business and affairs of trade, according to this written security, and in no wise are to use violence or extortion, if they act contrary thereto,

thereto, I will not suffer such behavior in the country, but will turn them out. And you, our well-beloved, are to act agreeable to this written security. If any one of the factors shall bring to pass any thing, contrary to this written security, and cause a disturbance, you shall remove him, and send me a review of the case, taken exactly without the least difference or disagreement. It is with much and earnest importunity, that I procured a written security to this purpose ; and having sent copies thereof to all my officers, and to you of noble rank ; if you do not cause business to go on agreeable to it, in the districts subject to you, I shall be very much offended with you, nor will I in future pay any regard to your complaints ; and take care to act agreeable to this single writing, regarding it of as much force, as writing a thousand times."

Extract of a Consultation of the 17th of January, 1763. (Present Mes. Amyatt, Hay and Watts.)

“ **A**S it appears from the consultation of the 22d of March, that it was then resolved to call for the opinion of the field-officers, in a case which the Board esteem similar to this; and as they think, that the issue of the present matter must highly concern the national honor, and the Company's business.

AGREED, we send for major Carnac to the Board, to take his seat, and assist in our deliberation on the substance of these letters.

THE major being come to the council-room, takes his seat at the Board. Read again the Dacca letter, dated the 10th instant, with the translates entered above, of the two Persian papers which were inclosed.

THE Board having maturely considered the same, are unanimously of opinion, that in the letter from the President to Cossim Allee Cawn, he assumed a right to which he was no ways authorized;
that

that the regulations proposed by him, are dishonorable to us as Englishmen, and tend to the ruin of all public and private trade ; that the President's issuing out regulations independently of the Council, is an absolute breach of their privileges ; and that, therefore, directions should be sent to Dacca, to suspend paying any regard to the regulations and orders, which the Nabob has sent to their factory ; and as the Nabob has declared, in his letter to the Naib of Dacca, that he will turn out those Englishmen, or their gomastahs, who will not comply with these destructive regulations ; it appears to the Board of the utmost importance, and they are further of opinion, that the absent members should be immediately called to Calcutta (excepting the chiefs of Patna and Chittagong, whose distance from the Presidency, may render their coming inconvenient and prejudicial to the Company's affairs) that the whole may be consulted on a matter of such high consequence, and a plan be established for the security of our commerce,

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merce, and for the proper conducting of the country correspondence.

AGREED, that we write accordingly in the terms of the above minute to Dacca, Cossimbuzar, and Luckypoor, directing the chiefs to repair immediately to Calcutta; but as the distance from Burdwan is so very small, and Mr. Johnstone's presence must be essentially necessary there, at this season of the heavy collections.

AGREED, that our letter to him be only to hold himself in readiness to repair to Calcutta, on receipt of our further orders.

THE major withdraws.

MESSIEURS Johnstone and Hay send in a letter to the Board, regarding the Persian letter, which they wrote to Sheer Allee Cawn, the fougedar of Poorneea, also copies and extracts of sundry letters and papers relative thereto.

THE same being now read, the Board are of opinion, that they sufficiently account for, and vindicate these gentlemen in that transaction."

THOUGH

THOUGH it was with reluctance that I could bring myself to sit as a member of the same Board, with persons who had treated me so injuriously ; yet, as I still had hopes that it might be in my power to prevent the execution of the designs, which were laid for breaking with the Nabob ; though I had no other arms than the rectitude of my intentions, and the propriety of the measures which I had taken, to oppose to these violences ; I resolved to answer with temper and coolness all their objections ; and to shew the illegality of their proceedings, that if I could not bring them to reason, I might yet obviate any pretence, which they might form to bring on the rupture, which some of the leaders * were certainly now meditating ; although, I believe, many of the members of the Council were not aware that things would be carried so far.

MY answer to, and remarks upon, the beforementioned proceedings, were
deliver-

* I have often declared, both before this time and since, that major Carnac and Mr. Ellis were the persons I here mean.

delivered into Council the 1st of February, as follows.

The Governor's Minute in Consultation,
February 1, 1763.

“ I HAVE read, with great surprize, the minute of your consultation of the 17th ultimo, upon Mess. Johnstone and Hay's letter of the 14th ; and upon the Dacca letter of the 10th, accompanied with my answer to the Nabob, upon the subject of the proposed regulations for the private inland trade. I will endeavor to point out the wrong you have done me ; and the injustice, as well as indecency of the reflections with which Mess. Johnstone's and Hay's said letter is filled ; and which I wonder should escape your censure, much more that they should gain your approbation.

THE Honorable the Court of Directors, as well as their servants here, have always understood a distinction between the trade in articles imported, and to be exported by shipping, and the private inland trade, that is, the trade
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from place to place in the country, in commodities produced and consumed in the country; of which salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, are the chief articles. For the former trade, the Company's duffuck has always been granted; but the latter, has been carried on with the duffuck of the country government, and their duties paid; but those duties being different in different places, and even varied at the same place, according to the disposition and authority of the Nabob's collector, and the degree of force with which the English gomastah could back his refusal, a fixed regulation was thought necessary, to prevent the numberless disputes occasioned by this commerce in different parts of the province. Our Honorable Masters have expressly ordered, in more than one of their letters, that the trade in salt and beetle-nut shall not be carried on to the prejudice of the revenues of the country government. And yourselves, gentlemen, in your letter of the 15th of November, transmitted me a list of the shahbunder duties

duties, usually paid by the gentlemen at Luckypoor, upon salt and tobacco, in order to assist me in finally settling those matters with the Nabob upon a solid plan. Can that plan be solid where nothing is fixed? And where the English gomastahs shall be under no controul, but regarding themselves far above the magistrates of the country where they reside, take upon them to decide not only their own disputes with the merchants and inhabitants, but those also of one merchant and inhabitant with another? Or is it possible, the government can collect their due revenues in such circumstances?

THE plan for carrying on the private inland trade, contained in my letter to the Nabob, is the same in substance, as the articles which, in my joint letter with Mr. Hastings of the 15th of December, we mention to have proposed to the Nabob. It is such a plan, as seemed to me to be most conformable to the Company's intentions in respect to that trade, most consistent with the rights and true interests

interests of their servants here, and with common reason and equity. And I call on you gentlemen, in the first place, to prove, that *I have assumed a right, to which I was no ways authorized*; that the regulations proposed are *dishonorable to you as Englishmen*, and tend to the *ruin of all publick and private trade*; which are the terms in which you have been pleased to express your opinion: and in the second place, to form a plan yourselves, which shall be more conformable to the good purposes beforementioned; and with regard to which, I am persuaded our honorable masters will not give the sanction of their approbation to this new trade.

FORM such a plan, gentlemen, and I will subscribe to it with pleasure, and engage the Nabob shall do the same.

FOR my own part, I think that the honor and dignity of our nation would be better maintained, by a scrupulous and careful restraint of the dustuck, than by extending it beyond its usual bounds; and by putting our gomastahs under some checks,

checks, than by suffering them to exercise an authority in the country, every one according to the means put into his hands, and thereby bringing an odium upon the name of the English, by repeated violences done to the inhabitants.

THE Dacca gentlemen, in their letter of the 10th, represent, that they shall suffer greatly if such regulations take place, It is not as to the duty they complain, but the being obliged to apply to the Nabob's officers for dustucks, and having their gomastahs or servants subjected to the jurisdiction of the zemindars, and their cucherrees. The gentlemen at Calcutta have never found any difficulty in getting the Hoogly dustuck for their salt to go up the country; nor have we ever thought it either inconvenient or dishonorable, to apply for it to the officers of the government. This is the only article we deal in here, that falls under the description of the inland trade. The Dacca gentlemen either do not or will not understand that description; whenthey say, *the*
chief

chief is enjoined (by the Governor's letter to the Nabob) not to give a dustuck for any article that is the produce of Bengal, and to pay a duty of nine per cent. to the Nabob on every merchandize not brought in or sent by sea. The distinction mentioned in my letter to the Nabob is, that all goods, imported or for exportation by shipping, shall go as usual with the Company's dustuck, and be subject to no kind of demands; and all goods, the produce of this country, for inland trade, shall pay duties to the country government, and go with their dustuck. Now the principal articles of this inland trade are, as I have mentioned in all my letters to the Board, salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, produced and bought in one part of this country, and sent to other parts of the same country for sale and consumption; articles which, before the troubles, we were forbid to trade in; but which our influence since has enabled us to deal in, although with many objections from the country government, and frequent complaints from the country merchants, who
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used to live by that trade. However, it has never been regarded as a part of our firmaun privilege, and we have been contented to carry it on with the dustuck of the country government, and paying their duties. The present regulation is intended only to give us a confirmed right to a benefit heretofore always disputed, and upon terms, which seem to me very reasonable.

Now as to the gomastahs, it is proposed in my letter to the Nabob, that orders shall be given to forbid them injuring the country people and inhabitants, or protecting the dependents and servants of the sircar, that in case of their having a dispute with, or complaint against any merchant or inhabitant of the country, they shall lay such dispute or complaint before the officer of the government, to be determined in the proper course of the jurisdiction of the country; and, in like manner, if any one should have a dispute with, or complaint against the gomastah, the gomastah shall appear before the officer of the government, to have it settled. In both cases

cases if the gomastah thinks himself aggrieved by the decision, he may appeal to his employer, and he to the Governor at Calcutta.

NOTHING here is meant to affect, nor can affect our rights over the weavers, who receive advances for the Company's cloths, and who have nothing to do with rents or employments, under the country government, are not understood to be their dependents or servants, and therefore may and ought to be protected against any unjust demands of the government's officers, at the discretion of the chief of the factory to which they belong. But it is not to these gomastahs so many acts of oppression are charged, their business is plain and simple, they have only to make the usual advances to the weavers, and see that they perform their contracts; and being immediately under the eye of one or other of the factories, they cannot be guilty of great extravagancies. The complaints come from the distant corners of the province, as Rungepoor, Poorneea, Dinagepoor, Rangamettec,

VOL. II. R

tee, Gwalparah, Silhet, Backargunge, &c. where, if those complaints are true, the English gomastahs being under no controul of their masters, despise and ill treat the officers of the government, set themselves up for judges and magistrates, hear disputes between the inhabitants, and extort fines, force the merchants to buy their goods, at more than the market price, and to sell what they require as much below it. The complaints I have received of this sort are innumerable. I have done my utmost to find out the truth, and get redress and put an end to them, by forwarding copies to the chief of the factory, nearest the place where the cause of complaint has arisen, and desiring him to enquire into it ; but for the most part I have had no other satisfaction than the gomastahs flat denial of the fact. The places being very distant, a proper examination of witnesses is almost impossible, either before this Board, or any of the subordinates ; how then are such disputes to be settled, or the truth discovered ? I am far from saying, that the
method

method I have proposed is free from objection, because I am very sensible, many of the officers of the government will not execute their authority impartially, and many will gladly take every opportunity of obstructing our gomastahs, and particularly in this new commerce; but I cannot think of a better plan, and it is certainly more agreeable to reason, and the practice of all nations, that the jurisdiction should be in the hands of the proper officers of the government, than our agents and gomastahs, who are permitted to reside there only as trading factors, and where, neither the law of our country, nor the powers intrusted to us by the Company, give us any judicial authority.

I wish, gentlemen, you may form a better plan, since you do not approve of mine; but if it should appear, that this trade cannot be carried on without investing our gomastahs with an armed force, and authority to exercise that force over the inhabitants, at their discretion, I think it should be forbid;

and we content ourselves with carrying our trade, as far as the Company carry theirs; and so far we shall be sure of the protection of their force, under the direction of one or other of the factories, who will be answerable to the Board for the use they make of it, which the gomastahs are not; and therefore such an authority should not be trusted in their hands.

MESSIEURS Johnstone and Hay complain, that I sent a person to enquire into the truth of the complaints, against the English gomastahs in the country, and they dignify a poor Banyan, with the title of inquisitor. My letter to those gentlemen from Mongheer, will shew the only authority with which that person was invested, and as they have not laid before you a copy of that * letter

I have

* *Copy of Mr. Vansittart's Letter to Messrs. Johnstone, Hay and Bolts. Dated Mongheer, December 15, 1762.*

GENTLEMEN,

I have received your favor of the 3d instant, with an extract of Mr. Robinson's Letter; a copy of one
written

I have subjoined it hereunto under No. I. as it is at least as material as some of those pieces they refer to. As soon as this inquisitor returns, his report shall

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be

written to him by the Rangamettee fougedar, and of an order of mine to Gongaram Metre.

I have always paid customs upon my private inland trade; that is, the trade from place to place in the country, in commodities produced in the country, as salt, &c. and I have understood it to be generally admitted, that we ought to pay customs, like other merchants, upon such private trade, and that all have done it, who had a share in it, which you know are but few, and that but lately. If the fougedar of Rangamettee demanded only such customary duties (and his letter implies nothing more) he is certainly not to blame, as he had orders from the Nabob so to do, and it is what I think the Nabob has a right to insist on; but it is absolutely necessary those duties should be fixed, and publicly known to every body, and that they should be collected at once, at the place of purchase; which are points I am endeavoring to get settled; and I shall be obliged to you, if you will write to Mr. Robinson for a list of the duties demanded by the fougedar.

Very certain it is, that many English agents and gomastahs, and particularly those belonging to the Dacca gentlemen, have practised a method of carrying

be laid before you ; and as every step I can take for the redress of the inhabitants of the country, is complained of as an encroachment upon the privileges of the

rying on business, called in this country *Barja* and *Kichavut* ; that is, forcing the merchants and shopkeepers to take their goods at thirty, forty or fifty per cent. above the market price. The complaints I had of this, and other oppressions practised by Mr. Chevalier, and the gomastahs employed under his direction, were without number ; when I desired of Mr. Cartier to redress those grievances, I was fure to receive from him in answer a letter from Mr. Chevalier, denying all the facts, and so the enquiry stopped, but the complaints were renewed with fresh instances ; I therefore sent two aumils, about six or seven months ago, to enquire on the spot, whether such practices and vexations existed or not ; if they did, to warn those concerned in them from me, that they should be punished, if they did not desist ; and if that warning proved ineffectual, as I suspected it would, to return to me, with an account of what they saw and heard. This their commission is plainly expressed, both in Persian and English, in the instructions which Gongaram Metre produced to Mr. Robinson ; and therefore I am surprized, how that gentleman can apprehend, that his coming can obstruct his just dealings. If Mr. Robinson practices the unjust methods before-mentioned,

the English, and also proves ineffectual ; I shall, for the future, lay all such petitions from the inhabitants before the Board, hoping, that by your resolutions, some effectual method will be provided for restraining the excesses of the go-

R 4 mastahs.

mentioned, I wish I could by this, or any other means, obstruct him ; but this, from the good character I have always heard of him, I cannot suspect. I will not say that Gongaram Metre, or the other, whose name is Ram Govend, have not exceeded their commission ; it is likely enough they may, as the people of this country are very apt to do ; but if they have, Mr. Robinson should have mentioned the instances. I have, however, ordered them both to return, as they have had time enough to inform themselves, whether the complaints I received from the zemindars, &c. were well grounded or not.

I send you inclosed, an order from the Nabob to the Rangamettee fougedar, enjoining him on no account, to obstruct the trade of any English gomastah, to demand no more than the usual customs, and that only upon the inland trade from place to place in the country ; but for the trade to and from Calcutta, and all foreign parts, on no account to require any duties from those who have the Company's dustuck.

I am, &c.

maffahs. The most material of those that have lately been presented to me, are hereunto annexed from No. II. to No. XI. and I think the putting a stop to any abuses that may be practised under the authority of the English flag, is an attention so worthy of this government, that one or more members of the Board, or some of the senior servants, should be sent to inform themselves upon the spot, how far the complaints are true, and make their report to the Board.

MESSIEURS Johnstone and Hay assert, that the Nabob's ordering the Rangamettee fougedar, to receive the usual duties on goods for inland trade, is contrary to the articles of our treaty with the Nabob, and reduces us again to those privileges we enjoyed before the time of Meer Jaffier.

I HAVE referred more than once to the treaty with the Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn, and do not find that it grants us any new privileges of trade; and Colonel Clive, who certainly understood that treaty as well as any one, never would
grant

grant a duffuck for salt, or any other article of trade, which had not usually been granted by former governors.

MESSIEURS Johnstone and Hay insinuate throughout their letter, in terms not to be misunderstood, that my reason for wishing to restrain other gentlemen's gomastahs is, that my own may have the more power, and procure for me the greater profit. Although I am satisfied, that such insinuations would obtain little credit, yet it may not be improper to produce some instances, that I suffer equally with others, when any obstructions do happen in our trade; and that I am the first to practice upon my own concerns, the restraint which I think should be laid upon our gomastahs in general. For the first I appeal to Mr. Amyatt, whether a number of boats of salt, belonging to me, were not stopped at Cutwa by the collector of that gaut, at the same time with others, and detained as long? And for the last, I refer you to my orders of the 17th of December, and 10th of January, to Mr. Moore,

Moore, my agent at Rungepoor; and Mr. Baillie at Rangamettee; of which, copies are hereunto annexed, No. 12 and 13.

As you have been pleased to give it as your opinion, that Mess. Johnstone, Hay and Bolts did properly, in writing a letter to Sheer Allee, the fougedar of Poorneea, in their own name, instead of applying to the President; of course, every other merchant will take the same authority. I am by no means sorry to be relieved from the trouble of such applications; yet I think it my duty to give it as my opinion, that this entire levelling and equality will not be for the good of the Company's affairs, nor the benefit of the society, and therefore to declare my disapprobation.

ONE reason Mess. Johnstone and Hay give for writing this letter deserves to be taken notice of, *an unwillingness in the President to believe complaints of this nature.* I request the Board will call on them, to produce any one instance, where I have either refused or delayed to

to

to give them, or any other merchant, every assistance they have asked of me in the carrying on their private business, and obtaining redress for their grievances. In short, gentlemen, their letter throughout is so injurious to me as a gentleman, to say nothing of my station, that I should apply to you for justice against them, did I not perceive, that instead of shewing your displeasure at such behavior, you have thought proper to give it the sanction of your approbation. I refer therefore to the Honorable the Court of Directors, who I am persuaded will do me more justice.

I SHALL be glad to see the number of members at the Board increased, and wish it could always be kept so: but if I had proposed to send for particular members from the subordinates, to give their opinion on a particular subject, I should surely have been accused of an intention to make a majority to carry a particular point; and it is a precedent, which may at some time be applied

plied to that purpose, and therefore I think a bad one.

As to the major, he is to be a member of the Board, according to our Honorable Masters directions, *when military affairs only are under debate*. How the regulation of a method for carrying on our trade in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, can be brought under that title, I cannot conceive ; nor how he can be supposed to be a judge of such a subject ; yet, if you conceive his advice can be of use, I am far from objecting to his being present. The matter in question is not with me a point of contest or party ; I wish only to see such rules laid down, that the Nabob and we may know our proper limits, and prevent our servants from transgressing them, which will require time and patience, and much care and attention. The best laws will sometimes be transgressed ; but the inconveniences which arise from such transgressions, ought not to be objected against the laws themselves, but against the transgressors, who can only be restrained

strained by the constant care of the government."

I was much displeased with the Nabob, for his eagerness in making use of my letter as a final agreement; and for the ill judged power, which he had so suddenly put into the hands of his officers before my arrival in Calcutta, or any correspondent orders could be sent on our part. However, in my letters to him, I endeavored to remove the alarm given him by the extraordinary appearances in Calcutta; and to persuade him to avoid furnishing, by any act of retaliation or resentment, an occasion for open hostilities against him. Unhappily the jealousies had arisen to so great a height, that these palliatives had no longer their effect; and from this period, I had not only to contend with the violence of the gentlemen, who had now the rule of our affairs, but the confirmed distrust and rage of the Nabob. Accordingly I shall have little to do in the sequel of this Narrative, but to shew by
extracts

extracts from the consultations, the steps by which the breach was gradually widened, and a daily encrease of authority thrown into the hands of the subordinate factories ; until, at length, Mr. Ellis thought himself sufficiently empowered to begin the war, with the attack of the city of Patna.

THE views of the violent party in Calcutta, were but too well seconded by many of the Nabob's officers, who were for passing at once from one extreme to the other. Having been long under the yoke of our gomastahs, they no sooner had a prospect of being freed from it, than they in their turn would rule despotically, and use their authority to unlawful purposes. This gave our subordinate factories daily opportunity of making fresh complaints to the Board of the interruption of their business ; which was always done with such exaggerations, as served to increase the flame. It was pretended our weavers could not be protected, because I had forbid the protecting dependents of the country

country government. The dependents of the country government are plainly those who hold offices, trusts, or rents under the government ; and there is an established distinction between them, and the weavers, who are regarded as dependents of the merchants who employ them ; and this is a distinction well known to all, but those who thro' passion would not know it. I desired this might be explained to the subordinate factories ; and as the Board had resolved that they would not confirm the regulations I had proposed, I kept in my hands the Nabob's orders for their establishment, and did not forward them to the officers of the government ; and directions were sent to the subordinate factories, to carry on their private trade as before, until the general Council should have assembled, and fixed upon such rules, as to them should seem most proper. I wrote at the same time to the Nabob, that other regulations would soon be made by the Council ; and desired he would send orders to his officers,

cers, to restrain them from exercising any acts of violence or injustice towards the English agents and gomastahs. The following is a copy of the order sent to the factories the 1st of February, in consequence of these resolutions.

Copy of a Letter from the Governor and Council to the Chief and Council at Dacca. Dated February 1, 1763.

“ **I**N our letter of the 17th, we directed you to suspend paying any regard to the orders, which the Nabob had sent to your factory.

WE are now to acquaint you, that neither the Nabob, nor the President, ever understood any delolls or weavers, employed by the Company, or the English gomastahs, to be the dependents of the fircar. You are, therefore, to afford them the same protection, and maintain the same authority over them, as you have done formerly ; and you will continue to carry on your business as before, until you receive regulations from the Board, taking always the greatest care

care to prevent your agents from injuring or oppressing the country people.”*

THESE orders being given, we waited for the arrival of the members of the Board, who had been sent for from the subordinate factories; and nothing remarkable occurs till they assembled (the 15th) except a minute, delivered in by Mr. Amyatt the 3d, intended to prove, in contradiction to my arguments of the 1st, that I had acted without authority from the Board. How far this purpose was answered, I leave others to judge from the minute itself, which follows.

“IN consequence of my having presided at the Board, during the absence of Mr. Vansittart, I shall now take the liberty to reply in part to the minute, which he laid before the Council on the 1st instant.

* The same letter was wrote to Luckypoor.

FIRST, as to the subject of the letter to the Nabob, in respect to the transactions therein contained, I shall leave it to be debated and determined, at the full Board, when the rest of the members arrive; and when I make not the least doubt, having received the assistance of their deliberations, but we shall be able to form a set of regulations equally equitable with the President's, and every way as conducive to the interests of the country government, and our own; and I trust, of a much greater tendency to prevent future jealousies and animosities between us, of which the clause for subjecting us so thoroughly to their judicature, must have proved an inexhaustible source.

WHAT I have therefore chiefly to point out is, that the President, in this transaction, has acted without a proper authority. It was but last council-day, gentlemen, that all the proceedings in this affair were read at our Board; and although I gave the greatest attention to the perusal, I could nowhere distinguish,
that

that we vested the President with the powers he pretends; nay, I observe, that he himself can only pick out one phrase to answer his purpose, from perverting even the literal sense of which, and entirely the well-known meaning of the Board, he draws a sanction of ours for what he has done.

RIGHT sorry am I to find, that recourse is had to playing upon words; because I think it is a custom which ought to be utterly excluded in matters so serious as generally prove the business of this Board; and orders from them, which are not explicit, should rather be scrupulously followed, than taken in a vague and unlimited sense. It is needless to enlarge much more on the subject. Our resolutions, on receipt of the articles from the President and Mr. Hastings, which we then understood to be only proposed, plainly demonstrate, that we never gave or intended to give them power to conclude these or any other; of course the President's doing it was an authority assumed. But if he

could so well understand, or I should rather say misunderstand, the meaning of the Board in the above particular, and act in consequence; how happens it, I should be glad to know, that their directions, and earnest recommendations for procuring restitution for the late losses of any individuals, were not paid an equal regard to?

NEXT, with respect to the letter delivered in by Mess. Johnstone and Hay, which I always held as a mere secondary matter, but which I find the President has expatiated upon very largely; I must, in the name of the Board, deny, that it met from them the approbation which he alledges, their minute, of which I think the sense cannot well be perverted, serving no further than to express their opinion, that the apology of those gentlemen was, for the transaction in question, to them satisfactory. Although I cannot implicitly agree with the President, that the said letter is filled with unjust and indecent reflections; yet I concur entirely, that our Honorable
Masters

Masters should become the judges of this, as of all our other proceedings.

I REMAIN still of opinion, that the major ought to be present at the Board ; for as I esteem sound reason and knowledge of the policy of the country to be greater requisites for executing the business in hand, than an acquaintance in the articles of the trade itself, I think his opinion and advice may be of equal weight and utility with any other member of the Board. These added to what stands minuted on the consultations of the 17th, are my reasons for desiring the major's presence ; for I assure you, gentlemen, I wish not more than the President, that the matter in question should become a point of contest or party."

My answer to this minute was given in the 15th of February, when all the members of the Board met, and of course it will appear in the sequel.

THE general Council, which assembled the 15th of February, consisted of the following members. The President,

Mr. Amyatt, Mr. Batson (chief of Cossimbuzar) Mr. Billers (chief of Luckypoor) Mr. Cartier (chief of Dacca) Mr. Hastings, Mr. Johnstone (chief of Burdwan) Mr. Hay, Mr. Marriott, and Mr. Watts. Their business, or at least the first business, was to settle a plan for carrying on their private trade: it must therefore appear strange, that the Council should be opened by a motion from Mr. Amyatt, that major Carnac should be summoned to sit as a member of this Council. It has been already mentioned, that the major was, by the Company's appointment to be a member of the Board, when military affairs only were under debate; and I think that neither would Mr. Amyatt, and the rest of the Council, have imposed upon him a trouble so foreign to his station, neither would he have consented to interfere, if they had not some particular point to carry. I dissented as before from this motion, and so did Mr. Hastings, and Mr. Watts. The rest of the gentlemen resolved, that he should be called,

called, and he was summoned accordingly. As it was thus determined, that major Carnac should sit as a member of the Board, I thought that the commanding officer major Adams, should sit also, as it was customary upon all occasions to summon both, when it was necessary to summon either.

ACCORDINGLY the two field officers took their seat at the Council, which then consisted of twelve ; and Mr. Amyatt began, by laying before them the occasion of their meeting in the following minute.

“ As the full Board are now assembled, I think it is in some measure incumbent on me, to inform the members lately arrived, with the occasion of our having summoned them to the Presidency.

YOU may remember, gentlemen, that about six months ago, our trade in every part of the country met with great interruptions ; and which from that time continued so much increasing, that in

the month of October a conference with the Nabob was deemed absolutely necessary, to enquire into the cause, and remove them. The President accordingly, being about to pay a visit to the Nabob at Mongheer, undertook to settle this amongst other business. To assist him in so doing, we furnished him with copies of all the complaints which had been made ; and continued to transmit him copies of all others which came before the Board ; with earnest recommendations to obtain satisfaction for the losses which those delays had occasioned, and endeavor to adjust matters, so as to prevent any such from happening in future.

FROM these instructions, and the good disposition the President seemed to be in, we naturally hoped for the best of consequences, an uninterrupted freedom to our just trade, and an entire removal of the groundless jealousies and distrusts, which still subsisted in a high degree on the part of the country government, and gave us just grounds to apprehend,

apprehend, that the Nabob wanted to break with us. Had our expectations been answered, a general harmony must have reigned at our Board, and which I do assure you, gentlemen, I have long wished to see.

IT was therefore with much surprize, that the members of the Board, the beginning of last month, received advice from Dacca, of the Nabob's having sent a set of regulations to that factory for the government of their trade, and enjoined them to the strictest obedience, with the severest threats. Part of these regulations we had before received in a joint letter from the President and Mr. Hastings at Mongheer, but conceived them, as they expressed it, to be only a plan proposed. We wrote an answer accordingly, dated December 27, to which I refer you. The above letter from Dacca, however, having convinced us, that the President, either from misunderstanding the orders of the Board, or too far extending their meaning, had, on the part of our government, granted his
sanction

sanction and ratification not only to these, but several other important articles, entirely without the advice of his council. We thought it necessary to summon your presence to the Board, to consider of this matter, as well respecting the regularity of the transaction, as the purport of the regulations themselves, which, in our opinion, are far from having a tendency towards answering the good purpose necessary or wished for.

I THEREFORE submit to your consideration the several papers relative to this business, most of which you will be directed to in our consultation of the 1st instant; and I earnestly desire your assistance for bringing to a speedy determination, a point so essentially necessary to the freedom of our Honorable Masters business, and all private trade.

THERE also lays a complaint from the gentlemen at Patna, of the Nabob's having shut up the Burbunna gate, and cut off the immediate communication between the city and the factory; and in which point it seems the President then

then on the spot also concurred, contrary to the sense of the Board last year, and which, for the honor of the factory, and the influence such a concession must have on the minds of every man in the country to our prejudice, ought to have met his strenuous opposition. This is a circumstance which must come before us in the course of our deliberations; and I only mention it here with a view to direct you to a perusal of the Patna letter, because it doth not appear on the above-mentioned consultations of the 1st instant.

THE consideration of this affair will naturally lead us to compare the sense, spirit and tendency of the treaty now in question, with those made with Serajah Dowla, and confirmed by Meer Jaffier Cawn, &c. wherein the unquestioned authority and validity of the dustuck is so expressly established, unclogged with any distinctions as to the goods for which it may be granted.

I HAVE further to observe to you, gentlemen, a circumstance on such an occasion

occasion not unworthy of your attention, The sunnuds, by which we hold our late acquisitions, are only tuncaws, or an assignment of these provinces, towards the defraying the expences of a certain body of troops, to be kept up for the assistance of the Nabob. In the present temper of the Nabob, this, so weak a title, can hardly fail of proving a fresh source of dispute. He already shews a total disinclination for the use of our troops; and may, whenever he thinks himself in a condition to call our right in question, tell us, that he has no longer occasion for them, and therefore will withdraw that revenue. To prevent such pleas on the part of the subah, and to establish our right to these lands, as to jagheers, by the fullest and most authentic sunnuds, and such that hereafter may be ever indisputable, should other European nations come to take part in the affairs of Bengal, seems a point extremely requisite to be now considered. The Company, for want of this matter being clearly explained, most probably suppose,

suppose, that the present sunnuds are of the most extensive and indisputable kind; whereas in fact our force, more than title *, can support us in the possession of them.

I HAVE the utmost confidence, gentlemen, that the result of your deliberations will be such, as to convince our Honorable Masters, that you are incapable of being influenced by the spirit of party, or any mercenary motives; and that your only views are the preservation of their honor and interest, and the maintenance of their just rights and privileges."

WHOEVER

* The nature of the grants by which the Company possess those lands, is of very little moment. It is by the treaty with the Nabob they are ceded, and as long as that treaty of friendship and alliance subsists, he cannot dispute their right. If a breach of that friendship happens, and a war breaks out, he will dispossess us, if he is able, and that he would, if we had the king's firmaun. Therefore the form of the grant is of no consequence, and this will hereafter be found to be the opinion of all the Council, when they entered into a new treaty with Meer Jaffier; at which time, none of them thought there was any necessity for demanding jagheeree sunnuds.

WHOEVER has read the former part of this Narrative, will easily perceive the distinguishing characteristics of major Carnac's style throughout this writing delivered in by Mr. Amyatt. It abounds with those sounding phrases, which are meant to catch the ear, and so to pass for good reason without further examination. When he would engage you to oppose the Nabob's shutting up one of the gates in the city of Patna, and closing a breach between the city and the river, he tells you, *the honor of the Patna factory* is concerned. For my own part, I think the honor of the Patna factory consists chiefly in carrying on the Company's trade with credit and advantage, not in seeking disputes with the country government, by unjustly interfering in their concerns.

HE bids you compare the sense, spirit, and tendency of the treaty in question (that is, of the regulations of the private trade contained in my answer to the Nabob's letter) with those of Serajah Dowla and Meer Jaffier. Those
being

being compared, it will be found, that neither of those treaties convey to us any new privileges, but confirm those of the firmaun. Now the firmaun, as I apprehend, did not give us a right to carry on the private inland trade, that is, the trade from place to place in the country, in the commodities of the country, as salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, &c. It did not, I say, give us a right to carry it on at all, much less to carry it on custom-free, to the total ruin of the merchants of the country, and the great loss of the Nabob's revenues. Neither did Serajah Dowla, or Meer Jaffier, understand it so; the former would never suffer us to meddle in that trade, and the latter prevented it as much as he could, and complained of it as an injustice, and an innovation, as has been already shewn. The new regulations I proposed did, on the contrary, convey to us an acknowledged right to that trade upon a reasonable footing; and the payment of a fixed duty, less than had already been paid by
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some of our factories ; and a duty which the profits of that trade might well bear.

MANY other instances of this kind of specious and sounding expressions without meaning occur in this minute, which I will call Major Carnac's, instead of Mr. Amyatt's, as well as in all the rest of the major's writings. I will take notice of only one more. To engage all the gentlemen of the Board to applaud and side with him, he concludes with telling them, they are incapable of being influenced by the spirit of party, or any mercenary views. I am persuaded, that it will appear obvious to every reader, that the minute is calculated throughout, to infuse a spirit of party ; and in this he too well succeeded ; nor could he have chosen a more certain method of confirming and strengthening this spirit, than by telling them, they were incapable of being influenced. It is a known maxim of those, who would lead a party, to endeavor to conceal from their followers that they are led. As to mercenary views, if views of exorbitant

bitant profits in trade may be so termed, there was certainly a great share of that passion in the violent opposition against the regulations I had made.

I CONTINUED to try every means of preventing the dangerous consequences, which were to be apprehended from so violent a combination; but it is easy to judge, how difficult a part I had to manage. On one side, if I opposed too strenuously the resolutions of the adverse party, I ran a risque of strengthening the Nabob's hands, and thereby making him too powerful in case of a rupture. On the other, if I fell in with their violent measures, all the ways of accommodation would quickly be shut up. I endeavored therefore to keep a middle course, in order to preserve terms with the Nabob, until the Council had determined upon the regulations and demands they would insist on, flattering myself, that the Nabob would submit to them, however unreasonable and detrimental to his government, rather than engage in a war to his inevitable ruin.

With this view I avoided every word that could inflame; and as the oppressions of the Nabob's officers gave so much reason, I was the first to consent to such an encroachment upon his rights, as the security of our trade required, in hopes thereby to induce the Council to be the more moderate in their demands. I said therefore nothing more to Mr. Amyatt's minutes of the 3d and 15th, than was necessary to shew the authority I had from the Board, to make such regulations with the Nabob, that the present disputes were not owing to the regulations, but to the abuse of them; that if such abuses could be prevented, all the advantages of trade we could reasonably wish, would be insured to us, with good order to the Nabob's government; and that if they did not approve of my plan for attaining those ends, they should set about forming another themselves. The following is a copy of this minute.

Copy of the Governor's Minute of the 15th of February, 1763.

“**I**N answer to that part of Mr. Amyatt's minute of the 3d, where he says, that I pervert the meaning of the letter I received from the Board, dated the 15th of November, I will only quote the words of the said letter, and my answer dated the 1st of December.”

Letter from the Council, dated Nov. 15.

“**I**NCLOSED, we transmit you an extract from the Luckypoor letter, explaining the shabbunder duties which they have always paid, and the nature of the fresh extortions which are now demanded, which we imagine may be of service to you in *finally settling these matters upon a solid plan.*”

The Governor's Answer, dated Dec. 1.

“**I** SHALL proceed, with Mr. Hastings's assistance and concurrence, in such inquiries as shall be necessary on the subject of the complaints now in

question; and in establishing such rules between the Nabob and us, as may prevent them for the future." Accordingly I framed with Mr. Hastings such rules as seemed to us most proper for the occasion, and proposed them to the Nabob in several articles, as contained in our letter to the Board, of the 15th of December: but the Nabob, not chusing to accede to those articles, represented to me again his grievances, in a letter the 26th of December, the day before my departure for Patna; and as I had no further instructions from the Board, than those before quoted from their letter of the 15th of November, and no reply to my answer of the 1st of December, where I said I would establish rules for the conduct of the Nabob's people and ours; and as the regulations proposed, seemed to me altogether necessary and reasonable, I made no doubt of their being approved by the Board, and consequently made no scruple to write an answer to the Nabob, assuring him, that things should be carried on according to those

those rules. Upon the minute of the 1st instant, I have sufficiently shewn the reasons, why those rules for carrying on the private inland trade, and restraining the powers of our gomastahs, seemed to me equitable and necessary, and the most proper for the end proposed; but as much as I am inclined to give the officers of the country government their due authority, yet am I by no means disposed to submit to any abuse of that authority, or suffer them to go beyond the limits prescribed by those regulations; which, were they strictly observed by both parties, would, I think, remove all occasion of complaint from both sides. But I grant, that the late conduct of the government's officers, in many parts of the country, gives me too much reason to think, with the rest of the Board, that they cannot exercise authority without oppression; and that whatever cause they might have of complaint against the English gomastahs, their own tyrannies are yet more insupportable; for instead of freeing our trade from any impedi-

ment, detention or obstruction, under pretence of customs, duftore, &c. which was my only intent in laying down such rules, they have had a quite contrary effect. The officers of the government, presuming upon the restraints laid on our agents and gomastahs, having gone directly contrary to the conditions prescribed to them. I agree, therefore, in the necessity of entering into articles of agreement with the Nabob, such as shall appear most proper for regulating the manner of carrying on our trade in those articles, which before the troubles used to be deemed illicit; and for confining the government's officers, and our gomastahs, within the due bounds of their respective employments; of which articles, copies should be given to every officer of the government, and every gomastah, for their guidance. In the meantime, I have made the strongest representations to the Nabob, upon the violences committed by his officers in different parts, in direct violation of the agreement between us. Copies of my
letters

letters to the Nabob, Syed Mahomed Cawn, and Mahomed Allee Beg, are hèreunto annexed. I lay before you likewise a number of complaints transmitted to me by Syed Mahomed Cawn, from the zilladars, and other officers of the several districts, under his immediate direction, and which it will be necessary to take under consideration, at the time of debating upon the intended regulations, that such of them as appear well grounded, may be remedied."

FRESH complaints from the Patna and Dacca factories were read at this consultation : from the former, that some bullocks loaded with the Company's salt-petre were stopped at one of the chokeys or guards ; and from the latter, that great obstructions were given to their private trade at Sirampoor. On the other hand, a number of representations were received also from Syed Mahomed Cawn, the Nabob's deputy at Moorshedabad, of the violence and unjust proceedings of the English gomastahs.

tahs. Upon the first it was resolved, that all trade should be carried on as before ; and in case any of the government's officers should obstruct it, they should be opposed by force and seized ; upon the second, that the representations should be translated, and sent to the subordinate factories which they concerned ; and from whence, for the most part, no answer was received ; or, if any came, it was taken no further notice of.

As the officers of the country government had exercised their authority so unjustly, I agreed it was become necessary to restrain them by force upon some occasions. The misfortune was, that those who had long wished for a rupture with the Nabob, must be the judges of those occasions ; and consequently it was to be feared, that they would make use of this authority beyond what was intended or necessary, particularly Mr. Ellis ; however, there was no possibility of preventing it, and to have argued against it, would only have served to make

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make them more violent, because the objections I could have made, must have been personal against some of the members then present at the Board, or against Mr. Ellis, with whom they were firmly united.

I THOUGHT the likeliest way of preventing any bad consequences upon this order, would be to acquaint the Nabob immediately, with the danger to which his own hastiness, and the insolence of his officers, had exposed him; and recommend to him, in the most strenuous manner, to forbid their interrupting the business of any English gomastah, or giving further occasion for disputes, which might end in a breach of our friendship. The following is a copy of the letter I wrote to the Nabob on this occasion."

" I HAVE already informed you of the oppressions and insolences of Mahomed Allee Beg; and I now enclose you a copy of a letter wrote by him to Abdulla, amil of Soondeep pergunah. Consider,

Consider, it is his design not to suffer a single Englishman in the country, and to punish whoever shall take upon himself the name of an Englishman; accordingly the Company's business, and that of the private gentlemen, has been every where stopped, whereby they have been, and still are, subjected to many losses: and the agreement which was made between you and me, for the removal of the disputes between your dependents and ours, has been entirely broken off by Mahomed Allec. As his proceedings are prejudicial both to your interest and the Company's, it would have been proper, at the instant of my receiving the copy of his letter, to have dispatched some of the Company's people to seize him, and to have sent him prisoner to you. However, as he is a servant of yours, I have contented myself with representing the affair to you, and I wait your answer. Out of the friendship subsisting between you and me, it is proper you inflict due punishment on him, and make him answerable for the losses

losses he has been the occasion of; if not, I cannot sit quiet, and see the Company's and private gentlemen's affairs go to ruin. Inclosed I transmit you the copy of a letter I have wrote to Mahomed Allee."

NOTHING else remarkable passed at this first meeting of the Council, but a letter delivered in by major Carnac, claiming the command of the detachment stationed at Patna. I desire no other proof than the terms of this letter to convince the world, that he was the chief adviser of the resolution for calling down the members of the Board from the subordinates; and that to carry this point for himself was one of the objects of that resolution. The following is a copy of his letter.

Copy of a Letter from Major Carnac to the Governor and Council. Dated February 15, 1763.

“**T**HE being deprived of the command of a body of your forces, at the head whereof I had the good fortune to meet with some success; and the being ever since detained here, you will readily believe must have occasioned much uneasiness to me. However, till now, I despaired of any remedy, from a conviction, that my remonstrances would prove ineffectual, and only serve to involve me in fresh altercations, which I was willing to avoid. The station of Patna being the most likely quarter from whence we are to expect troubles, is undoubtedly the post of honor, and as such, from my rank, I had the best title thereto, unless I had forfeited it by any ill behavior on my part, which, whatever may be the opinion of a few of the members, I please myself with thinking is not the general sense of the Board. I am happy in the persuasion, that I cannot

not now fail of redress, if I am deserving thereof; and flatter myself, gentlemen, if you are for continuing the Company's forces in that quarter, that I shall have your orders to proceed thither, and take the command of them, unless you have any other more immediate call for my services."

It will be remembered, that the reason for calling major Carnac down from Patna in June 1761, was to put an end to the disputes with the Nabob; and his application to go back at this time, when disputes were growing every day, has all the appearance of his wishing to make them worse, and to be more at hand to act in concert with Mr. Ellis to that end.

THE consultation of the 18th of February has a letter from the Patna factory, which shews they were ready enough to make use of their own force, without waiting for our orders.

Copy of a Letter from the Chief and Council at Patna to the Board.

“ **A** DEARTH some years ago, which had very near proved fatal to our troops here, made it necessary that some precaution should be taken to avoid, as much as possible, our experiencing the like distress in future; for this purpose, Mr. Amyatt, then chief of this factory, established a gunge, where our people have ever since been amply supplied with provisions at cheaper rates than they can be elsewhere, and at the same time prevented them falling into the numerous broils that must daily happen, from their being obliged to seek their sustenance in the different markets of the city. Advantages well known to every person who has resided any time at Patna.

THIS gunge the President agreed with the Nabob should be abolished; and in its stead, he desired the chief to lay up 20,000 maunds of grain on account of the Company; which we, however, have thought most proper to defer, not chusing

sing to put our employers to what we deem an unnecessary and unprofitable risk, without the sanction of your orders. The encouragement given Nobit Roy on this occasion, has induced him to seize and carry away by force all the dealers of this gunge, to detain boats loaded with our own particular property having dustucks, and to send the chief word, that he will not suffer a further importation of grain. He has likewise publicly punished three boatmen, who have been long employed in this service; and made proclamations through the city, that whoever brings grain to the English shall be treated in the same manner; which can be construed in no other light, than a determination to distress us in the most tender point, viz. that of the necessities of life.

AFTER such insolence on his part, an observance of punctilios on ours would be truly ridiculous, and also deservedly subject us to the imputation of being wanting in our duty to those we serve, as well as to those committed to our charge.

charge. We shall therefore use as little ceremony in releasing our boats, as he does in seizing them, avoiding at the same time any kind of offence, but acting consistently with the first great law of nature. In the interim we shall expect your orders."

THE subject of this letter was reserved to be considered along with the other disputed points, and the following plan was settled for conducting the debate.

"FIRST, To collect the opinion of the Board, on the regulations settled with the Nabob by the President.

SECONDLY, To determine on the Patna letter respecting the Burbunna gate, the entrenchment by the water-side, and the gunge.

THIRDLY, On the disposition of the troops, and major Carnac's letter."

THE 19th, the firmauns and grants not being ready, only the second article of the plan was considered, viz. Whether

ther the Nabob should be permitted to shut up one of the gates of the Patna city; and to close the breach between the wall and the river; and whether Mr. Ellis should keep his gunge. The opinions were as follows.

Extract of a Consultation of the 19th of February, 1763.

“**R**EAD the following minute delivered in by the President.

The President's Minute.

IN order rightly to understand the question relative to the Burbunna gate, and the intrenchment by the water-side, it is necessary to describe the situation of the places, and to refer to what passed on this subject last year.

THE city of Patna extending itself above two miles from east to west along by the river-side has two principal gates, one at the east end, the other at the west. Between the western gate and the river-side is the Burbunna gate, or rather wicket, being a small entrance into a very narrow street; and the Eng-

lish factory being situated on the river-side, about two or three hundred yards to the westward of the city walls, and from this gate-way, used to find a convenience in this entrance, as the principal western gate is a full half mile from the factory. The city is surrounded by a wall and ditch, except by the river-side. The north-east angle is closed by the citadel, or rather the Nabob's palace, which extends itself into the river, so that there is no passage by it. At the north-west end is a bastion, called the Mootanee bastion, between which, and the river, was an open passage into the town.

IN the month of February, 1762, several men of captain Carstairs's party having deserted, Mr. Ellis sent to Rajebullub, then Naib of Patna, to desire he would give orders to prevent any of our soldiers from going into the city. Rajebullub acquainted the Nabob with Mr. Ellis's desire; and received orders from him to shut all the gates and outlets of the city, except the east and west-gates, of which he advised Mr. Ellis,
and

and desired, that he would order that none of the Europeans should go into the city ; and that such of the people of the factory as had business there, should enter by the western gate. Mr. Ellis wrote to Rajebullub in answer, that the shutting the Burbunna wicket would put a stop to all the business of the factory, and that therefore he must not shut it ; and, at the same time, he represented to the Board, the inconvenience that would attend the shutting it, the west-gate being distant from the factory at least half a mile ; and mentioned, that Rajebullub had begun to raise a wall from the bastion, next the factory down to the river, thereby to prevent all communication ; inasmuch, that no boat could track up to the factory ; and that the consequence of allowing it, would be the obliging all boats to pull up the other side of the river. At the same time Mr. Ellis sent people to prevent the Burbunna wicket being shut, or the outlet by the water-side closed. In consultation of the 22d of February, I

was desired by the Board to write to the Nabob, to request him to order the Burbunna gate to be left open; and in the letter to Mr. Ellis, where he is acquainted with this resolution, it is added, that he should prevent the wall, or breast-work being carried on by the river-side, so far as it might obstruct boats tracking up on that side of the river. Agreeably to the resolution of the Board, I wrote to the Nabob, desiring he would order the Burbunna wicket to be left open for the convenience of our factory; and the Nabob gave orders accordingly.

THUS the affair rested till I came to Mongheer, when the Nabob represented the inconvenience of having those two outlets left open. “ That the seepoys, and other people of the factory, often came into the town by those ways, quarrelled with the inhabitants, and plundered or ill-treated them, and escaped again to the factory, without its being possible to bring them to justice; and that besides, the town could not be in a state of defence, until the passage by the river-side

side was secured." As I was going to Patna, I told the Nabob I should be a better judge when I had seen the place myself. Upon my arrival at Patna, I took a view of the places with Mr. Ellis. The Burbunna gate was no doubt a convenience to such of the servants of the factory as resided in the city; but to go round by the western-gate is not a greater inconvenience, than every person who has to do with a fortified town must submit to, nor do I find that the Company carry on any business in the city; and as to the opening between the Mootanee bastion and the river, it is such an one, as no person, who has the charge of a fortified place, would on any account suffer. So far from being secured by the English factory, I can assert, that it would be very easy for an enemy to pass by the factory by night, and enter the town before any alarm could be given. Besides, the factory itself, which is in no respect like a fortification, might be taken by an enemy, and the city thereby exposed to certain destruction, if

this passage must be left open; a case which though not likely to happen, yet ought certainly to be guarded against. As to the difficulty of boats going up by the river-side, it is a mere exaggeration, like many other parts of Mr. Ellis's dissertations on these subjects. Boats will have only to row or warp a few yards at the west end, as they are already obliged to do at the east end, where, as I have before observed, the * Kella stops the passage, and where I saw boats pass up without the least difficulty; and it is well known, that there are very many places between this and Patna, where boats cannot track on account of the junguls, the steepness of the banks, or other obstructions. Finally, as the city belongs to the Nabob, and he is answerable for the charge of it, and for the persons and properties of the inhabitants, he has an undoubted right to fortify it in any manner he pleases. These my sentiments I explained fully to Mr. Ellis; and Nobit Roy having applied to me on the subject, I gave him an answer, of which applica-

* The citadel or palace.

application and answer, the following are copies."

*From Nobit Roy, Naib of Patna, to
the Governor.*

"**B**Y reason of the passage by the water-side, and the wickets of the fort being open to the town, it could not properly be taken care of. I therefore shut up the wickets, and left the east and west-gates for people to pass in and out. Yet the inconveniencies will not be remedied, until the Burbunna wicket, and the passage by the water-side, are also stopped up. Had the passage of the Burbunna wicket, &c. been stopped, how could the Boujepoor thieves and prisoners have made their escape? The passage and wickets being open, renders it impossible for me to protect the town, and is a means of disturbance in my affairs, of contempt on the government, and of insecurity to the fort. As the care of the fort is a necessary work, and the regulation of it is my business, it therefore belongs to me also to shut up

the wickets, and the passage. If I am prevented from doing this, what is the advantage of my staying here?"

From the Governor to Nobit Roy.

"I UNDERSTAND what you write about shutting up the Burbunna gate, and the passage by the river-side, and I have seen the two places you speak of. The stopping up the passage by the river-side is a very proper work; as to the shutting up the gate, although there seems to be no great necessity for it, and the going round about, will be an inconvenience to the factory; yet, as it is the Nabob's order, do it whenever you think proper, no one will interrupt you."

Remark on the President's Minute.

"MAJOR CARNAC begs leave to observe, in answer to that part of the President's minute, in vindication of the Nabob's strengthening that part of the city so close to our factory, that it cannot be necessary, unless he means to strengthen it against the factory itself, which he persuades himself the majority of the Board

Board will look upon as a greater security to that end of the city, than the temporary trifling works now thrown up by the Nabob.

The Opinions of the Council.

MR. WATTS is of opinion, that the Nabob ought to be wrote to open the gate, and throw down the pallisadoes, and such part of the intrenchment as obstructs the tracking of the boats to the factory on that side of the river.

MR. MARRIOTT is of the same opinion.

MR. HAY is of the same opinion, with this addition, that if the Nabob refuses to comply with the President's desire, Mr. Ellis should then have orders to open the gate, and throw down so much of the intrenchment as obstructs the passage of boats.

MR. JOHNSTONE is of opinion, that the shutting up the Burbunna gate, and making the trench and pallisadoe into the river, could be of no service for the security of the town against a foreign enemy, whilst the Nabob depends on us as his friends; and that it remarks, in this time of tranquillity, a distrust of us in particular,

particular, and has been so understood by every body in those quarters, and is considered as an advantage gained over our Chief, in a point hitherto disputed with the Nabob, though never desired by his predecessor. To keep up our credit, therefore, and for the great convenience it is, and ever has been to our factory, he thinks the Nabob should be addressed, as the general sentiments of the Board, to restore things to the situation they were in before ; and if he refuses, that Mr. Ellis should be empowered to do it himself.

Mr. Hastings's Opinion.

As every occasion should be avoided of alarming the people of the country, with the appearances of distrust or contention between the Nabob and us, and as it has been deemed, that the cases now in debate have such a tendency, Mr. Hastings is of opinion, that the President should write to the Nabob, and desire him to cause the Burbunna gate to be opened, and the intrenchments by the river-side made passable for boats ; but he sees no occasion for sending a
publick

publick order to the gentlemen at Patna, to effect either by force, nor does he think it can be done, without a manifest violation of our treaty of alliance with the Nabob, as he has the sole authority to take such measures, for the regulation or strengthening of his own fortified city, as he thinks proper, whilst he encroaches upon none of our known rights.

MR. CARTIER begs leave to observe, that never having been at Patna, he can form no other judgment as to the affair of the Burbunna gate, and the circumstance of its being shut, than what he has been informed of, by the letters from Patna. From them he finds the servants of the factory have now no convenient communication with the city, as likewise their hospital; that the shutting up the gate is a matter of pique, and intended to affront Mr. Ellis; and if him, consequently the nation; and must have been considered in that light by the inhabitants of Patna, who, apprehensive of the consequences, many have left their houses,

houses, and carried their families to other parts ; that this proceeding has raised a notion in the country of our little attachment to the Nabob, which he has very imprudently encouraged by the suspicions he seems to harbor in his mind, and acting in a manner so contrary to that confidence he ought to place in us ; that our attachment to him is his sole security and safe-guard, which, if once lessened, or even suspected to be so, might probably have the worst of consequences on his affairs ; that for his own safety, and freeing the country from disturbances, it ought to be a point insisted upon, that the said gate should be opened, more particularly as it was the only one of the city left open, during the troubles of three years in that province, and no danger from its being continued to be so in a time of profound peace, can possibly be dreaded ; and if the President's application on this head is not complied with, that directions shall be sent to Mr. Ellis to open it, and that part of the intrenchment to be thrown down,

down, that is a real inconvenience to the factory.

MR. BILLERS is of opinion with Mr. Cartier.

MR. BATSON considers the shutting up of the Burbunna gate, and the intrenchments raised by the Nabob against our factory, as an indignity designed us, and really an act of hostility; he is therefore of opinion, that the gate should be ordered to be left open as formerly, and so much of the intrenchment removed, as Mr. Ellis and the Council may judge for the safety and convenience of our factory; and we should write to the Nabob to give orders for the above purposes; which, if he refuses to comply with, Mr. Ellis should be ordered to execute them.

Major Carnac's Opinion.

BY the Burbunna gate has been, time out of mind, a communication between the city and factory; therefore the Nabob's ordering it to be shut up, cannot but argue in him an indisposition towards us, especially as the works executing there, carry all the appearance of
a desire

a desire to strengthen himself on the side next to us ; nor does it appear, that any advantage or conveniency will result to the Nabob, from the stopping this communication ; and the reason principally insisted on seems to be, that the Nabob is master of his own city, and may do as he pleases. The same might with equal justice be given, for his refusing to allow any entrance whatever to the English into the city ; he has done the next thing to it, rendered our admission as inconvenient as possible to us. Besides, the gentlemen at Patna assure us, their boats will, from the obstructions now made, be exposed to great risks. The major is therefore of opinion, that the Nabob should be wrote to, in the most pressing manner, and a representation made to him, that the shutting the Burbunna gate, cannot fail creating, throughout the country, the persuasion that he and the English are upon bad terms, which it is equally his business as ours to prevent ; that therefore to remove any suspi-
cions

cions of this nature, we must insist upon that gate being again opened, and that part of the city be left in its usual state. If after such a representation, the Nabob continues obstinate, the major thinks the Board will be justified in giving order to Mr. Ellis to open that communication; and the Nabob will have only himself to blame, for having reduced us to that necessity.

MR. AMYATT declares, That of his own knowledge this gate has been kept open for these nineteen years past, and was the only one of the city which was open during the time of the two sieges of Patna, as being esteemed a necessary communication with the factory, by the guns whereof it was covered; that he therefore imagines, the shutting of it up must proceed either from a pique to Mr. Ellis, or an intention to diminish the English influence in the country. That for these reasons, and as it is attended with great inconvenience to us, and no advantage to the Nabob, he agrees in opinion with Mr. Hay in re-
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gard to opening it, and removing the intrenchment by the water-side.

MAJOR ADAMS is of opinion, that the shutting of this gate is of no advantage to the Nabob; that so far from strengthening the city, he thinks it rather contributes to weaken it, and has an appearance of a jealousy subsisting, which may be prejudicial to the Company's affairs, and to the Nabob himself; and that therefore the President ought to write to the Nabob, to insist upon the gates being opened, and a necessary passage left from the intrenchment for the tracking of boats."

A LETTER to the Nabob was then prepared according to the opinion of the Board, and according to the usual course went under the hand and seal of the President; which being the form prescribed by the Court of Directors for the country correspondence I always observed, although the letter on this, and many other occasions, was contrary to my own sentiments. The following is a copy of
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the letter wrote the Nabob in consequence of the foregoing resolutions.

To the Nabob, February 19, 1763.

“**T**HE chief and council of the Patna factory have represented to me and the Council of Calcutta, that by shutting up the Burbunna gate or wicket of the city, all the servants of the factory are subjected to great inconvenience in going to and from their houses, and the Company’s business impeded; and further, that by carrying on a wall or intrenchment from the bastion to the water-side, boats are prevented from tracking up to the factory, and will be obliged to pull up on the other side, which will be a great inconvenience to the business of the Company, and the gentlemen of the factory. And as it appears, that the Burbunna gate has always been open for twenty years past; and that during the troubles when the city was besieged, the said gate was of particular service, as assistance went by that road from the factory for the de-

fence of the city; and the shutting it up at this time has not a good appearance, but raises distrust and jealousy in the minds of the people, and fills the inhabitants with apprehensions, as if there subsisted not a perfect friendship between you and the Company; and as such reports are equally prejudicial to your affairs, and the Company's, and it is unreasonable you should lay any obstructions in the way of the Company's business, or that of the servants of the factory: it is therefore thought very improper, on all accounts, to shut up the said gate; and I write to you therefore, according to the advice of the Council, to desire you will order it to be kept open as before, as reports of this kind to prejudice or diminish the Company's name will not be admitted; and that you will order the wall or intrenchment from the bastion to the river-side to be made in such a manner, that there may be room for the boat people to track up the boats. As your compliance herewith can be attended with no loss or hindrance to your affairs,

affairs, it is necessary that you immediately give orders accordingly, that the people may see there is an entire confidence and friendship between you and the Company, and all jealousies and apprehensions may be removed."

THE reasoning of the Council upon the foregoing subject amounts to this, that to shut up the gate of the city, and close the breach or passage between that and the river, would have an appearance of a jealousy or disagreement between the Nabob and the Company; wherefore he should be wrote to in a peremptory manner to keep them open; and if he did not comply, Mr. Ellis should open them by force. A most extraordinary method for removing all appearance of jealousy and disagreement! With respect to the gunge, the whole Board agreed with me in the impropriety of Mr. Ellis's keeping it; and the following resolution was made.

“ WITH respect to the gunge, it is unanimously agreed by the Board, that instead thereof, a limited number of licenced shopkeepers shall be established, to supply with provisions the bazars of the army and the factory ; that they shall not however become a gunge, or wholesale market, but erect their shops and storehouses in such place, as shall be agreed on between the chief and Nobit Roy ; and suffer the usual customs to be collected by a droga on the part of the government ; and that all this being done, the present gunge is to be removed.”

THE next consultation the 22d, was taken up with reading the firmauns and grants ; and it was agreed, that the several members should prepare their opinions upon the regulations I had made with the Nabob ; and the extent of the privileges of our private trade, by way of answer to the following six questions.

“ FIRST,

“ FIRST, Whether by the firmaun, and subsequent treaties, we have a right to trade in every article, whether for foreign or inland trade, duty free ?

SECOND, Whether any duties ought to be paid to the country government on salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, or any other articles ?

THIRD, Whether the Company's duffuck shall be for the future granted for such articles ?

OF late the trade of salt from Calcutta, up the country, has been carried on by the English inhabitants in general, who, having first paid the duties at Hoogly, and having got the fougedar's duffuck or rowana, had then a passport or certificate from the President to accompany it.

FOURTH, Whether certificates should in future be granted to any but the Company's servants ?

FIFTH, Whether the English gomastahs, in any part of the three provinces, shall be subject in any manner to the

controul of the officers of the country government, and how far ?

SIXTH, If not, how are we to regulate the disputes that may happen betwixt them and the country government, and particularly in those parts where we have no factory ?”

AT the same consultation (the 22d of February) was read the following letter of complaint from Luckypoor.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Middleton to the Governor and Council. Dated February 16, 1763.

“ I ADDRESSED you the 14th instant, and informed you, that the houses of Golam Hossien and Mahomed Gazy, servants of this factory, were beset by Aga Nazam, Mahomed Allee’s deputy at Jugdea. I have since received intelligence, that on the 12th instant, Aga Nazam had summoned these people to surrender on that day ; the consequence of which was, the mother and sister took poison, but instant relief being given them, they are yet alive ; the rest found
means

means to escape by a back door, and left their houses to the mercy of Aga Nazam, who of course has plundered and destroyed them. One of the women that escaped has been brought to-bed but a few days; what is become of her, the infant, and other women, I cannot tell, but have sent people to enquire after them. I must inform you, that these two men are of a considerable family, who have always been much respected in the country, and remarkable for their attachment to the English, particularly in the year 1756, when they afforded protection and assistance to our servants, at a time that it was refused by the French, and every one else at Jugdea. I inclose you a letter, which I received from Syed Buddul Cawn, a fougedar, appointed by Mahomed Allee in these districts, to whom I wrote on this occasion, by which this act seems to have been done by Mahomed Allee's directions. I also enclose to you copies of two letters from Syed Buddul Cawn, and Aga Nazam, to Golam Hossain and

Mahomed Gazy, recommending the latter, to quit the English employ, if he expects to have any favor shewn him. By these letters, and other circumstances it appears, that their being servants of the English, is the sole cause of their misfortunes. Therefore, I have assured them, that you will not fail of obtaining all possible redress; and what further particulars I may be able to learn of this affair, I will hereafter communicate to you.

OUR cloth business in the Manorgunge pergunah, where several of the Company's sortments are made, is entirely put a stop to by one Comar Allee Wadadar there, and our gomastahs and other servants have been obliged to return to Luckypoor, leaving a large sum outstanding, in the pykars and weavers hands. This Comar Allee is the person who ordered, by publick beat of tom-tom, that none of his tenants should, at their peril, transact any business with the English, of which Mr. Billers advised you, in his address of the 22d ultimo.

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TO what we have from time to time alledged against Mahomed Allee, give me leave to observe, that his rapacious cruelty is so conspicuous, in the unheard-of oppressive measures, taken by him in the pergunahs hereabouts, and so particularly aim at those people that are, and have been in our employ, or any way negotiating with us; that it seems his design is, to the utmost of his power, to throw every obstacle in our way in the course of trade, both Company's and private, but more particularly the latter, that a powerful inveterate enemy can suggest. How far we have suffered in our private concerns, is partly known to you, by the account transmitted you by Mr. Billers. Several of our boats have since that been stopped on various pretences, although we have paid the Nabob's duties as in former times.

YESTERDAY advise was brought me, that some people belonging to the government were measuring our grounds, in order to take possession of them, and had demanded rents from our tenants. I
immediately

immedintely sent a few seepoys and persons, who, this morning, brought in two of the principals employed on this occasion. Soon after I had seized these people, a number of men collected themselves together, and have been plundering the houses of our tenants, and carried away their cattle, &c. This has obliged me to send a strong party of seepoys to the extent of our bounds, to prevent any further insults of the kind. I thought it necessary to inform you of this circumstance, as I imagine it will be represented in a very different light by Mahomed Allee's party."

UPON this it was resolved to seize the three officers of the government complained against; in which resolution I agreed; for as the question was now, whether the acting persons complained against should be seized, or war made directly with the Nabob himself; I concurred in the former, as I yet did not doubt but the Nabob would submit to any terms, that should be proposed to him

him by the Council, rather than enter into a war.

THE next consultation (the 1st of March) the opinions of all the members were delivered in upon the six questions proposed the 22d of February. The majority declared the extent of the privileges of our private trade to be unlimited, and that the duties which had hitherto been paid to the country government on salt, and some other articles, were only a compliment which might be continued or not, as we pleased. This pretension must appear to all reasonable men as unjust as it was new; for who can suppose the Mogul emperor meant by his firmaun, to give us a right to trade from place to place in the center of his own country upon a better footing than his own subjects? His granting us an exemption from customs, upon our foreign or shipping trade is natural, because it was attended with the double advantage of giving vent to the manufactures of his dominions, and importing bullion and other useful commodities. Much
has

has already been said upon this subject, and we will come now to the several opinions of the members of the Board, which were as follows.

Extract of Consultation of the 1st of March,
1763.

“**M**R. WATTS is of opinion, in answer to the questions proposed last Council day.

FIRST, That by the firmauns and hushul hookums, the English East India Company have an undoubted right to trade in every article produced in the Indostan empire, either for foreign or inland trade; and that dustucks ought to be given with any articles; and that Meer Mahomed Jaffier Allee Cawn, in his treaty, has very particularly confirmed the same for the provinces, under the subahdarree of Bengal.

SECOND, That duties ought not to be paid to the country government on salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, or any articles that have a dustuck with them.

THIRD,

THIRD, That duffucks be granted with fuch articles for the future.

* FOURTH, That no paffports or certificates fhould be granted to Company's fervants or others, but that falt have a duffuck with it, if the fole property of a Company's fervant, but not to other Englifh inhabitants.

FIFTH, That the Prefident, in his letter to the Nabob, has given up the privilege which the Company enjoyed by this firmaun; and therefore he continues in the fame fentiments, as in the confultation of the 17th of January.

SIXTH, That fubjecting our Englifh gomaffahs to the country government, would entirely prevent us from carrying on our trade; nor is there any neceffity for any regulations in thofe parts where we have an Englifh factory; but in the diftant parts of the provinces fomething is neceffary to be eftablifhed, as well for preventing our gomaffahs from being guilty of oppreffions to the country people, as to keep the officers of the government from behaving in the manner they

they have lately done. That this point can only be settled betwixt the Nabob and us.

MR. MARRIOTT is of opinion, that the President ought to have waited till he could have received an answer from the Board, before he wrote the letter to the Nabob, as no paragraph of the Board's letter to the President appears to authorize him to conclude a treaty without their approbation, unless their willingness to have affairs settled with the Nabob on a solid basis, with the security of our rights and privileges, be construed into that sense, which he does not imagine was the intention of the Board. That in regard to the treaty itself, it differs far from our firmaun and funnuds granted in consequence of our treaties with Serajah Dowla and Jaffier Allee Cawn, particularly in giving up our right of granting dustucks for inland trade (though some few articles may have been denied us trading in by the country government, unless we paid duties on them) notwithstanding
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our Honorable Masters strongly recommend the being jealous of our firmaun privileges; and also in submitting our gomastahs and dependents to be under the government's jurisdiction, and liable on every occasion to be called before their courts, which is greatly derogatory to the English name, and must take from us that sway we ought to have in the country, without which no business will be able to be carried on; and will greatly prejudice not only the quality and quantity, but also enhance the price of every article of the Company's investment. That so far from submitting our gomastahs and dependents to the government's courts of judicature, our firmaun expressly orders all our dependents that are indebted to us and run away, to be immediately delivered up to us; and that the government's people should give us all the assistance they can on such an occasion, in order to recover our demands.

THAT in regard to exchange of money, as we have an undoubted right to coin siccas from our firmaun and sunnuds,

nuds, we ought to insist on those we coin should pass; but to obviate any loss that might arise by batta on siccas of a different mint at another place, we should get stamps of the several mints where we have occasion to send money, and coin with those stamps accordingly.

FOR these reasons, I entirely dissent to the treaty. The ill consequences must now appear too plain every where, it being a dangerous system to trust the government's people with so great a power. Their character of being rapacious and tyrannical would, I thought, have been well known to every one. I am further of opinion, the said letter of the President to the Nabob should be demanded back, or hereafter bad consequences may arise from it.

IN reply to the different articles proposed by the Board, Mr. Marriott is of opinion, that by the firmaun and subsequent treaties, we have a right to trade in foreign and inland articles of trade, if a direct assertion is a sufficient proof, and not one single article of trade prohibited

hibited us by the firmaun, &c. That the government denying us to trade in a few articles, without we pay duties on them, is usurping an authority they formerly were forbid, as by the tenor of the firmaun it appears; that further usurpations, and limiting our trade, were attempted by Aliverdee Cawn's ministers, in respect of paying duties on sugar; and which the Company remonstrate much against, and desire we will take care these things may not be brought into a precedent; which shews the opinion they entertained of these encroachments; and by their several regulations and orders concerning dustucks, it plainly appears, they only meant their servants should not cover any black merchants goods, or others, that had not the privilege of a dustuck; and by that means defraud the government of the duties they would otherwise have collected on the said merchants goods; which in case of being detected, might have been a plea for stopping the Company's business, and embroiling their affairs.

THAT in consequence of the government's collecting a duty on salt, which we for the most part have acquiesced in, a duty should be paid them at one place, and a stated sum for each hundred maunds, at the rate the Moor merchants pay, and the salt pass with the Company's dustuck (more particularly as it is the product of their own jagheers) and the collector's of the said duties receipt for the same; after which the boats not to be detained at any gaut or chokey, further than to give the chokeydar time to take a copy of our dustuck. That, as the Company's dustuck has been granted for beetle-nut, and tobacco, they are articles we should not give up, but continue the Company's dustuck for those articles accordingly. That our acquiescing in paying duties on salt, ought to be looked on as a concession on our parts, as the demanding them is certainly an infringement of our firmaun privileges; but as the other subahs have received them, the Nabob has custom to plead for his receiving them

them also; and as we have supported him in all his antient privileges, we ought to continue this to him, that it might not be detrimental to his revenues.

THAT the granting a certificate to English inhabitants trading in salt for what they purchase, has no bad consequence attending it, as this interferes not with any branch of the Company's trade; and he therefore thinks the President should grant them to those who are not covenanted servants.

THAT the subjecting our gomastahs to the controul of the officers of the country government, must, he conceives, be attended with the worst of consequences, as it is giving up one of our firmaun privileges, which must make us esteemed very light in the eyes of the generality of people, and consequently treated with contempt by them, and be the means of depriving our gomastahs of the influence necessary for carrying on the least business. That in order to prevent our gomastahs from making a bad use of their authority, and injuring or diminishing

the government's revenues, or interfering the least in them (this being one of the chief articles of complaint against our gomastahs) they should be again positively forbid holding lands, villages, gunges, &c. of the government; and an immediate example made of those that disobey; and then no other matters of dispute can arise, but in those of trade when the party injured should apply for redress to the Chief of the nearest English factory, who, no doubt, is invested with authority sufficient to make the gomastahs complained against appear and answer to the complaint, if appearing true; and a few severe examples made on the gomastahs, would, I flatter myself, in a short time, have the desired effect, and no injustice be committed by English gomastahs in future.

Mr. Hay's Opinion.

My reasons for joining with the other members of the Board, present the 17th of January, in passing the censure on the President, minuted in the consultation

tation of that day, are, that by the treaty or written security that the Governor passed to the Nabob, the principal rights and privileges of the English Company, granted them by the King's firmaun, and hufbul-hookums from Delly, confirmed and fully explained by the treaties with Serajah Dowla, and Meer Jaffier Cawn, and enjoyed since those treaties, almost in full, are given up, without one single advantage gained for the Company; but, on the contrary, the total loss of the English credit and reputation in these provinces, which has been declining these two years past, was the visible consequence of this agreement to every one who saw it, and was the least acquainted with the nature of the country people; and it now grieves me to think, that the wisest regulations, and the most steady conduct of this Board, will not be able to prevent the immediate bad effects of this ill concerted, and unauthorized proceeding of Mr. Vansittart, as too plainly appears from the letters received from the subordinates,

and the general complaints of all our agents and gomastahs ; which shew there is almost every where a stop to, or great incumbrances on our business ; and that our servants are particularly ill used and oppressed.

IN considering the arguments for and against the present treaty, entered into with the Nabob by the President, it is absolutely necessary, to the forming a true judgment on the affair, that the unjust methods used in the country courts, as well as the methods practised by the country merchants in conducting their affairs, should be continually in your mind.

THE impossibility of carrying on business, when subjected to the country courts, I think, must appear plain to every one, when it is considered, that for all sums of money recovered in them, you are obliged to pay, besides the expence of the court, a chout * of twenty-five per cent. on the money recovered ; which, if the English do not submit to pay, it will always be the interest of the zemindars, &c. to decide against them.

* A fourth part.

them. This I only mention as one of the numberless grievances we should suffer, if subjected to their authority. The country merchants are sensible of the impossibility of carrying on business under such disadvantages, and are therefore obliged to buy the protection of some person of authority in the government (if their own influence is not sufficient) which sets them above the reach of the lower zemindars of the country, protects them from the violence of all, and at the same time gives them a kind of judicial authority, so far as to confine the weavers and picars, when they cannot recover their balances from them otherwise. This being well understood, I imagine was the principal reason for the Company's being at so great an expence in procuring their firmaun and husbulhookums, which exempt the Company from those inconveniencies; and likewise of the great care that was taken to preserve them in their full force, by the treaties with Serajah Dowla, and Meer Jaffier Cawn.

BEFORE I come to consider the different articles of the treaty, it is necessary to remark, that the Governor's arguing, both in his letters and minutes, in support of this transaction, is on a supposition, that the greatest enormities have been and are committed by the English gomastahs throughout the country, to the great detriment of the Nabob's revenues and government. But that this has not been the case will, I think, plainly appear from the several complaints made against them, being no further supported, than by the assertions of those by whom made, and whose interest it was to make complaint, as some excuse for their non-payment of what was demanded of them; whereas, if there was any foundation for these complaints, it was so much in their power, and so agreeable to the present government, and the President, that they should be proved, that they never could have wanted means to have done it; and likewise, by the numberless oppressions that our gomastahs and people have suffered throughout the

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the country for many months past ; for it is not to be conceived, that people treated in the manner they have been, could have it in their power to be guilty of those extravagant violences and enormities, which they are represented to have been by Mr. Vansittart. Thus much premised, I shall now consider Mr. Vansittart's written security, or obligation to the Nabob, article by article.

IN the first, Mr. Vansittart has given up the right which the Company have by their firmaun, husbul-hookums and subsequent treaties, of granting dultucks except for ship merchandize, laid a tax of nine per cent. on all other traffick, and in a manner acknowledged, that the English do carry on their trade by force or violence, extortion, or unfair dealing.

I THINK the Board could never have justified themselves for giving up the Company's privileges in this manner ; and of course that Mr. Vansittart, unauthorized as he was to enter into any treaty, could have no right to do it ; but suppose it otherwise, how was it to be

be determined, which were, and which were not, ship merchandize? Mr. Vansittart indeed, in a subsequent article, has left that to be determined by those whose interest it must be to determine them not be so. In the arguments used for the tax of nine per cent. on the trade from one part of the country to another, it is throughout insinuated, that this is less than what has been usually paid; and Mr. Vansittart says, that on all the trade of this kind, that he has carried on in salt, &c. he has paid the country duties; but from my own knowledge, as well as enquiry, I have reason to think, that of the innumerable articles traded in, in this way, only salt and tobacco have paid any; the former of which, by far the most considerable, I believe last year, in a medium, did not pay above three per cent. although we submitted to pay the established country duties. Mr. Vansittart, on being asked in Council last Tuesday, what those articles were that he meant by salt, &c. ? replied only salt, for that he never trad-
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ed in any other. How ill then is his argument supported by his declaration when explained? On the whole, I believe, we are by this article, instead of trading duty-free, which I think we have an undoubted right to, loaded with a duty more than double what is paid by the Dutch, Armenians, or any people of the country.

THE acknowledging then in a public writing, that the English do carry on their trade by force or violence, extortion or unfair dealing, as I imagine, without any foundation for such assertion, is so hurtful to the reputation of the English in this country, that I look on it in the same light, that I do giving up the privileges of the firmaun.

By the second article, contrary to the privileges that the English enjoy by grants and treaties, themselves and gomastahs are subjected to the jurisdiction of the meanest officer that the Nabob employs, without the liberty of an appeal.

I FIND so many objections of the same nature as were made to the last, to be made

to this, and every article of this treaty, that I shall only remark on the whole of the remaining articles, that by being debarred the liberty of making salt, we are deprived of a privilege, that every person, Europeans and others in the country, have but ourselves.

THAT the giving up the right of coining in the different mints, is over-setting a privilege granted from Delly.

THAT the throwing the whole trade of Assam and Rangamettee into the hands of one person, is a monopoly most destructive to trade, and more particularly, if what Mr. Vansittart advances be just, that the duty on cotton alone in that country brings in a revenue of 40,000 rupees ; which, if you suppose at five per cent. must be raised on 800,000 rupees worth ; which, if thus monopolized, must greatly raise the price of that article, and of course the price of cloth.

UPON the whole, I think the written security should be demanded of the Nabob, and destroyed, to prevent in future times, when our affairs may not be in
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the flourishing situation they are at present in Bengal, in regard to force, a bad use being made of it; for, it is probable, that the government would, in case of having the upper hand in the country, make use of it to invalidate the privileges the English enjoy by their firmaun, husbul-hookums, and treaties.

IN answer to question the 1st, I say, Yes.

To question the 2d, No.

To question the 3d, Yes.

To question the 4th, That certificates should be given after the duties are paid.

To question the 5th, Not at all.

IN answer to question the 6th, I say, as formerly, agreeable to the firmaun, but that a plan be laid down by the Board, to prevent any injuries being done by the English gomastahs, and for punishing them that are guilty, which I think may be well done by a committee appointed for that purpose, who should receive all complaints and appeals from subordinates, or the agents residing, with authority of the Board, in those

those quarters, and examine them; and as it appears that great part, if not the whole, of the troubles that have happened to the English, and their gomastahs of late, are owing to the orders sent over the country by the Nabob, I think it highly necessary, that we have always a senior servant, resident with the Nabob, who should be acquainted with all orders regarding the English. This I think we have a right to demand, and is what we should insist on, as it will in future prevent our so long being ignorant of the source of our troubles, as we have lately been.

MR. JOHNSTONE thinks, the President's letter to the Nabob, containing the new regulations he intended to establish, is from its abject * stile, as well as concessions, highly dishonorable to us, and such as could not fail of ruining our trade and influence, and reducing us lower than ever the English were yet at any period in this country; that the
President

* The stile of this letter is the same always used in addresses to the Nabob.

President without authority, or any urgent necessity that yet appears, or can be conceived, resigned to the Nabob those rights and privileges we are entitled to by the firmaun, and subsequent treaties, and have hitherto enjoyed by virtue of them. 1st, By distinguishing the Company's trade from that of their servants, and agreeing to an exorbitant duty of nine per cent. on all articles of the inland trade, without distinction or examination of what had usually been paid on any of those articles at the different subordinates; establishing the rule upon that paid by the gentlemen of Luckypoor *, though expressly mentioned by them to be more than what was paid at Dacca, and known to be above double the duty paid heretofore at Hoogly; and though salt was the only article in his own private inland trade, that the President remembers to have ever paid
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* It has been shewn already in page 140, that the duty paid at Luckypoor upon salt was fifteen per cent. and on beetle-nut ten; whereas the regulations proposed by me fixed it at nine per cent.

any * duty on before this time. 2dly, In subjecting the English and their gomastahs under the authority of the Moors courts of judicature, contrary to the privileges we have ever enjoyed, of protecting those employed under us, and being ourselves the judges of their actions; the many ill consequences of which, and the entire loss of that credit and pre-eminence we have ever maintained, is evident to every body, of which we have had ample proof, since the circulation of the regulations in every quarter, by the abuse of the power so eagerly put into their hands, by the stoppage of our trade, and attacks openly made on those entitled to our protection. 3dly, By prohibiting at once, without reason, or ever consulting the Board, the Company's servants at the factories of Luckypoor, Islamabad, &c. from making † salt-works themselves, which
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* I said it was the only article of inland trade I recollected to have ever dealt in.

† This was so far from being without reason, that the Board have since agreed to establish that very limitation which I had proposed, finding that the trade could not be so carried on without injuring the rights of others.

is a liberty not denied to any native of the country; and by which their fortunes have been, and are endangered, as no time was allowed for collecting in the money they had laid out; and the balances due could only be recovered, by receiving the salt from the molungees they had employed. The article ordering without any limitation, that all purchases of lands, made by any of the servants of our factories, should be resigned, was, I think unjust and dishonorable to us; as if our servants, where they paid the due demands to the government, were not entitled to our protection.

THE article directing, that the chiefs and servants of the factories, are not to hinder the weavers and brokers of the government, has been considered as giving full power to the Nabob's officers over those people, and may turn to the ruin of the Company's investment, as appears by the proceedings of Mahomed Allee at the Dacca aurrungs.

THE foregoing the privilege we had of coining in the mints of Patna and Dacca, while no provision was made for the currency of our ficcas at those places without discount, was yielding up what the Company could demand of right.

ORDERING all purchases at Gwalparah, to be made entirely through the Nabob's droga, was an infringement of our rights of a free trade in that quarter, and against the treaty with Jaffier Allee Cawn, by which we are free from being even obliged to buy by the intervention of delolls.

THE minute of the Board the 17th of January, on the proceedings of the President, therefore to me appears well grounded, and I think the treaty ought to be recovered from the Nabob and destroyed, that so bad a precedent may never be established and used against us.

NEXT, in regard to the questions proposed, I think,

FIRST, That by virtue of the firman, husbul-hookums, and the treaties with

with Serajah Dowla and Meer Jaffier Allee Cawn, the Company, and their servants, have a right, without any restriction or limitations, to trade in and grant duffucks for every article, whether for foreign or inland trade. Our having been restricted by the power of the fubahs before the revolution, from the full enjoyments of these rights, can never be urged as a good argument to invalidate them, when we became powerful enough to assert them. They were established as fully and clearly as could be expressed in the publick treaties then concluded, and in funnuds and duffucks afterwards in consequence by Serajah Dowla and Jaffier Allee Cawn, for the uninterrupted currency of our trade, thro' the indisputable authority of the duffuck, wherever it was granted. And these funnuds were not merely for such quarters, where the Company had factories and aurungs, but comprehended also all the distant frontier provinces, where they had not the least trade of any kind, as Rungpoor, Poorneea, Ran-

gamettee, Dinagepoor, Silhet, &c. and Jaffier Allee Cawn yet agrees, that he understood the treaty in this sense, that wherever a Company's dustuck was granted, no duty could ever be demanded *. If custom, and what privileges we enjoyed under the Moors government before the revolution, are to be established, as what only we have a right to trade in now, by virtue of our grants, Firmaun, &c. there is scarce an article of the gruff trade, whether for export or consumption in Calcutta, and other places in the kingdom, but we must give up; for it is known, we could not professedly in our own names trade in these articles, tho' willing to pay the duties and arbitrary extortions required on such occasions. The various other articles of gruff are
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* That Meer Jaffier, when consulted on any point of debate between us and his successor, should join in such an opinion, as was most likely to inflame and encrease our disputes, was very natural; but what was his real opinion on this subject, when he was again placed in the government, is plain, from the demand which he has since made, that we should exclude ourselves from the same trade.

not more particularized, or excepted in any treaty or Firmaun, &c. than the two articles of salt and tobacco; and have been ever since the treaty with Serajah Dowla carried on with the Company's dustuck. That we have acquiesced in paying duty on the single article of salt, and passing it with the shahbundar's rowana at Calcutta, Dacca, and Luckypoor, should not now, I think, weigh with us to continue it, when our rights are called in question, and we are bound to support them in their full extent. Above all, as this article is the produce of the Company's own lands at the Calcutta pergunahs, Chittagong, Midnapoor, Jalalfore, and Burdwan; and as it makes a considerable branch of their revenue, it ought as much as possible to be protected and encouraged, instead of being oppressed with new taxes, exceeding above double what it has yet paid. As for the article of tobacco, no dustuck from the government has ever been taken, and the duty paid on it has never been demanded, till after its arrival at Dacca;

and at Cossimbuzar the Company's duffucks have always been granted, and never disputed for this article.

SECOND, I think, therefore, that the government have no right to demand that, or any other duties where the duffuck is granted; and that it should be now granted on salt and tobacco, as it has been hitherto for beetle-nut, rice, ghee, opium, sugar, &c. articles consumed in the country as well as exported.

THIRD, Those European inhabitants, who by the Company's directions are not entitled to duffucks, should not be freed from paying the duties; yet when these are discharged, for the ease of trade, I think a passport, or certificate from the President, might accompany the rowana of the buxbunder.

FOURTH, The English gomastahs, in any part of the three provinces, should be subjected in no manner to the jurisdiction of the country government. They are not, in my opinion, more than their principals to be accountable to them. I believe they never were, and no step could

could possibly have been taken more surely to ruin our trade, influence and respect in the country, than acknowledging them our absolute masters and judges. The Company have ever protected their gomastahs, and those of their servants. While we have subordinate factories, and a fixed government here, justice may always be had when complaints are well grounded, and can be proved by the government's dependents; nor need we be startled with those laid before us, but from the subject, exaggeration and groundlessness of most of them, conceive what a state of wretched dependence we should fall into, were we liable to be called upon for every such like absurd complaint, preferred to the country government. In those more distant quarters, where the Company have no factories, the trade is generally managed by gentlemen, who have had the approbation of the Board, to go up the country, and given security for their good behavior; and they may be presumed more to be depended on,

for determining equitably any disputes about points of trade (which is all they should, or need, have any connection with) than any zemindarree court. An appeal might nevertheless always lie from them to the nearest subordinate; and when such persons are publicly known to have the permission and authority of the Board, to whom they are accountable, they may, without any new regulation or innovation, carry on their trade to the satisfaction of the people, and without any detriment to, or interfering with, the collection of the revenues.

Mr. Hastings's Opinion.

MY name already appearing to the letter proposing the regulations, which form the substance of the President's letter to the Nabob, it will hardly be expected of me to join in the harsh and unmerited censure, past upon them by the members which then formed the Board. I at that time regarded these regulations, not as a concession of any new rights to the Nabob, but as a confirmation

firmation of those which he held by the treaties already in force ; nor has any thing appeared since to make me change that opinion.

My sentiments upon the extent of our duftuck, and the privilege of our gomastahs, I shall give fully hereafter, observing only in this place, that in settling the duties on the inland trade at nine per cent. the Governor only fixed the rate, which was before variably levied with continual disputes, to the great detriment of the fair trader ; and in this he acted in strict conformity to the plain and literal instructions of the Board, whatever sense they were intended to convey.

THE President has so fully explained the motives and reasons for this transaction, that it is needless for me to take up the time of the Board with a repetition of them. Upon the whole, I declare it as my opinion, that the regulations in question were calculated in the best manner to put our trade upon a proper footing, to distinguish our rights from those

those of the Nabob, to preserve the English name from reproach, and the affairs of the Company from suffering by continual disputes and contentions, in which they had no concern.

To understand the meaning of any treaty, where the expressions are doubtful or defective, recourse should be had to the circumstances of the parties concerned at the time in which they were made. Regarding the Firmaun in this light, we shall make no scruple to pronounce, that the Company could not, when they obtained that grant from the court of Delly, understand it to extend beyond their own trade, or include privileges, of which they could not make any use, and which (I may add) they never dreamt of. The commerce in imports and exports ever bounded (as of necessity it must) their concerns in this country. For the encouragement of a trade so beneficial to the country and its revenues, the court, at that time in its most flourishing state, and supported by wise and able ministers, indulged the

the Company with the freedom, which they petitioned for, from duties. Then the trade, in such commodities as were produced and sold in the country, was entirely confined to the natives. They were either farmed out, where they were considerable enough to make an article in the publick revenues, or circulated through the province by the poorer sort of people, to whom, whilst they afforded a subsistence, they at the same time added to the income of the state, by the duties gathered upon them. Let us suppose, the Company's agents had petitioned for the liberty of trading in these articles, without paying duties. Can it be conceived, that the government could have been so blind to its own interests, as to have given a privilege to strangers, which would have enabled them to monopolize the whole trade of the country, to impoverish the natural subjects, and exhaust the country of its wealth, without making any adequate return for it? The privileges therefore claimed by the Company, and allowed by the government,

vernment, were originally designed by both, for such a trade only as was carried on by the former; that is, in goods brought into the country, or purchased in it for exportation. In effect, it was ever limited to that; nor can it be proved, that the duffuck was ever allowed to pass for any other, from the first attainment of this grant, till the death of Serajah Dowla. The Company, in their standing orders before that time, prohibit their servants from meddling with what we have now termed the inland trade, and name it illicit; nor can any difference of power since, convey to us a right from former treaties, which we confessedly wanted before. Tho', since the restoration of the Company's privileges, we have by degrees dealt in the inland trade; yet it was always with a tacit acknowledgment of the invalidity of our duffuck for that trade, having generally paid the government a duty thereon; and where it was attempted without it, it has been constantly the subject of complaints

plaints and opposition on the part of the Nabob's officers.

I AM well aware of one objection, which I have frequently heard repeated in the course of the debates upon this subject, and which it may be proper in this place to reply to; I mean, that we should not be too rigorous in calling in question our own privileges; but where the sense of a treaty is not sufficiently clear, interpret it in such manner, as may tend to our own advantage, leaving it to others to dispute it; and that therefore, as the Firmaun gives us a general right to trade duty-free, without mentioning any exceptions, we should insist on a free trade in every thing, without exception. Without examining this principle, I shall only say, that if it be just at all, it can only be so, where the points contested for are of real importance; but where they are either trivial in themselves, or have a pernicious tendency, it must be an absurdity to insist upon them.

I MUST now beg leave, for the first time, to distinguish between the interests

terests of the Company, and that of individuals, which I am afraid have been too much confounded in these debates. That the Company will not suffer by a restriction of the dustuck to the foreign merchandize is manifest ; since with that restriction it will answer every purpose for which they want it. Besides, the odium, which a monopoly, so injurious to the natural rights of the country merchants, must unavoidably cast upon the English name ; and the perpetual jealousies, which from experience we know it to be attended with, prove, that this privilege is, in effect, highly prejudicial to the real interest, as well as honour, of the Company. As they have been pleased to permit us to share with them the benefit of the dustuck, we may surely content ourselves with the enjoyment of that privilege, within the same bounds to which they have limited themselves. To attempt to extend it beyond that, and for the sake of our own private advantages, to make this a point of contest with the power
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in alliance with the Company, is both a violation of justice, and a breach of the duty which we owe to our employers.

MY opinion then upon the three first questions before us, is,

FIRST, That we can claim no right from the Firmaun (nor of course the subsequent treaties, which were but intended as copies of that, in the articles regarding our commerce) to an exemption from duties on any but foreign trade; that is, in goods imported or carried out of the country.

SECOND, That duties ought to be paid to the country government on salt, beetle-nut, and other articles which are produced and sold in the country. And,

THIRD, That of course the dustuck ought not to be given for these articles; but that they pass with a rowana, or certificate, from the officer of the customs, in the same manner with the goods belonging to other merchants.

THE fourth article I deem altogether unnecessary, whether we trade in salt with the Company's dustuck, or as other
merchants

merchants without one ; the dustuck being a sufficient distinction in the first case, and the latter requiring none.

MY opinion upon the fifth question is, that the English gomastahs, in every part of the three provinces, whether in the districts of the Nabob, or the Company, shall be subject to the authority of the magistrate ; but with this distinction to be observed between private gomastahs, and those of the Company ; that the former shall be equally accountable to the magistrate for any misdemeanor, with any one of the Nabob's subjects that shall, at any time, reside in the territory of the Company ; nor enjoy any advantages above other merchants, but such only as the Firmaun gives them, viz. that their goods shall pass duty-free, wherever they have the protection of the dustuck ; the magistrates shall not oppose, but assist them in the recovery of their just debts, nor suffer any one to injure or oppress them. But as the Company's gomastahs have a weightier charge, and are none of them
situated,

situated at such a distance from the Company's factories, but that complaints against them may be both easily heard and speedily redressed, it should be only permitted to the magistrate to oppose them in the actual commission of any violence, or the assumption of any rights not belonging to them : but in any disputes with their immediate dependents, such as the weavers, pykars, or delolls, in their service, he shall not interfere, otherwise than by assisting them in carrying their complaints to the Presidency, or the factories to which the gomastah belongs, for redress. But the gomastah shall not therefore protect his own dependents from any lawful claims of the government, nor their persons from justice in any criminal cases.

THIS to me appears the only equitable method for preventing any misbehavior in our people, or disputes between them and the Nabob's. If the magistrate at any time should abuse his authority, the Nabob should be required, upon proof, to dismiss him from his office,

or inflict any other punishment, suitable to the degree of the offence. If this justice, so essential to the Nabob's own interest, and the tranquility of the country, be refused; or from the distance of his residence, cannot be timely obtained, we have always the means in our own power, when such extraordinary occasions may demand it, to vindicate our rights, and call the infringers of them to justice.

FROM the peculiarity of the times, and a natural propensity in the weaker part of mankind, to run from one extreme to another, it has unfortunately happened, that the power suddenly placed in the hands of the Nabob's officers, for the protection of his people, has been so extravagantly abused, as to give occasion to a persuasion in many, that no power can with safety be trusted in their hands. As I have formerly lived amongst the country people in a very inferior station *, and at a time when we

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* A junior servant of the Company at the silk aurungs.

were subject to the most slavish dependence on the government ; and have met with the greatest indulgence, and even respect, from the zemindars and officers of the government, I can, with the greater confidence, deny the justice of this opinion ; and add further from repeated experience, that if our people, instead of erecting themselves into lords and oppressors of the country, confine themselves to an honest and fair trade, and submit themselves to the lawful authority of the government, they will be every where courted and respected. The English name, instead of becoming a reproach, will be universally revered ; the country will reap a benefit from our commerce ; and the power of the English, which is now made a bugbear, to frighten the poor inhabitants into a submission to injury and oppression, will be regarded by them as their greatest blessing and protection.

IT is as impossible for any state to subsist with a divided power as with none. Our servants are as likely at least

to make an ill use of their power as the Nabob's are, but are not so easily to be restrained. In whose hands, therefore, can it be so properly lodged, as in those of the government to whom it belongs? To take from them that right (a right which we should never suffer to be contested in our own districts) will be to introduce oppression, rapine, and anarchy into the country, which we are engaged to protect: and whatever temporary advantages individuals may gain from such a scene of troubles, the affairs of the Company must infallibly suffer by it, if not be involved in one common ruin with the country. That this consequence may not appear too forcibly drawn, permit me to add; it has been observed, that the wisest and most permanent states have ever left to conquered nations the exercise of their own laws; and by that means insured their subjection. The power which we have acquired in these provinces, has reduced them to a condition as nearly resembling a conquest, as it is for our interest to wish it; but if

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we take so ungenerous, as well as impolitic an advantage of their weakness, as to put it into the power of every banyan, who calls himself an English servant, to tyrannize over the inhabitants without controul; this is not only to deprive them of their own laws, but to refuse them even the benefit of any.

MR. CARTIER gives it as his opinion, that the President's letter to the Nabob was in every respect improper, and naturally tended, from the concessions contained therein, to bring upon the English name a discredit and real disgrace. The late violences, as well as insolences committed by the natives, are a certain argument of its impropriety, and which were clearly foreseen the very instant the said letter was made publick; that the hope given them of being constituted judges and arbitrators, of all disputes that might happen in the intercourse of our business, gave cause to the many inconveniencies and tyranny that we have lately suffered, and do suffer. The subjecting us to such a controul, would have

effectually destroyed our influence and reputation in the country, and would unavoidably have led us, from the manifold oppressions we should have felt under by such regulations taking place, to the necessity of taking up arms for the redress of those grievances, which every member of the colony must have felt by so arbitrary a jurisdiction. As it is, the evil is spread wide, and has acquired such strength, that no other methods I doubt, but forcible ones, will be able to remove it. He cannot think the members of the Board gave, or intended giving a direct consent to the President's entering into a treaty with the Nabob, on points so very interesting to our privileges; nor did they imagine such a step was any ways necessary; but what he thinks most condemnable is, that the said regulations, previous to the approbation or disapprobation of the Board, were made known to the Nabob, and the same ordered by him to his different officers to be carried into execution, before such agreement could have the concurrence of
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the several members of the Council. He is likewise of opinion, that the said regulations, and the said letter to the Nabob, were in no respect agreeable to the tenor and spirit of our Firmaun, and the subsequent treaties entered into with the Nabobs Serajah Dowla and Meer Jaffier, but would have been the means of confining our privileges into much narrower bonds, than our grants and treaties are intended to restrain us in.

FIRST, On the extent and true meaning of the Firmaun, and all subsequent treaties.

MR. CARTIER thinks, that by the privileges invested in us by our Firmaun, hushbul-hookums, and our late treaties, our trade is under no limitation whatever, either in foreign or inland commodities; that the want formerly of power to assert the immunities of the Firmaun, cannot, as he imagines, be construed to an absolute and entire deprivation of them. This reason now no longer existing, we ought to assert our privileges to their fullest intent and latitude,

nor submit to the capricious conduct and encroaching behavior of the country government.

SECONDLY, On the trade in salt and tobacco, he can have no objection to the payment of an equitable duty, more particularly as we have hitherto both at the Presidency, and the factories of Dacca and Luckypoor, submitted to pay on one or both of these articles; but let that be fixed at a medium of what has been paid at the different settlements; and furthermore be considered as a concession made the Nabob, and not claimed as a right, paid as a thing, which custom has established, and not to be confirmed by any treaty.

THIRDLY, If it is allowed, that the trade in salt and tobacco, is in every respect agreeable to our Firmaun privileges, he sees no reason, why a dustuck should not be granted for those articles, as well as for all others; tho', at the same time, as a duty may probably be laid on those two articles, they should be accompanied by the buxbundar, or the shahbundar's

dar's receipt, to ascertain, that full duties have been paid, and that nothing further is to be demanded on any account.

FOURTHLY, As certificates have been granted indiscriminately to the servants of the Company, as well as to the inhabitants of Calcutta, he thinks the same should be continued to the latter, on their application to the President, on producing the buxbundar's receipt for duties paid; tho', at the same time, the duty stipulated and agreed upon, to be levied on these branches of trade, the property of Company's servants, should serve as no regulation for what may be demanded from them.

FIFTHLY, The nature of the government in every part of Indostan, being in all respects oppressive and venal, and the decision of all causes, depending more on the ability of the parties engaged in bribing their judges, than the legality of them; it can scarcely be thought even equitable, that the servants and gomostahs in our employ, should, on any complaint or misdemeanor, be subject to
their

their determination. It is likewise a known truth, that in every dispute concerning property and money-matters, a fourth part is appropriated for the service of the government and officers. This probably might not be insisted upon from us, though its not being so would, in all likelihood, be rather prejudicial than the contrary, as the other party might be subject to the established custom of the country, which if so, it must appear to every one what a superior influence would be acquired on that side. But even independent of this custom, and should it not be expected or demanded from either party, yet the integrity of our proposed judges is so little allowed of, that it would be the highest absurdity to expect it, or even to submit to their having the least power or authority over our people. Should this be ever permitted, it will not be presumption to declare, that we may then begin to date the commencement of our declining influence in the country, and it would most certainly be productive of continual

continual broils, should we have spirit sufficient remaining, to resent the injustice and indignities we must in such a situation be exposed to.

SIXTHLY, Tho' he thinks it improper to allow the officers of the government any kind of controul over our gomastahs, yet he is far from wishing their actions should be in any respect uncontrollable. Let the person injured, if not in our employ, lay his complaint before the magistrate of the district he is in, to be by him forwarded with the complainant to the President, or Chief and Council of the different factories, as may be most near the district which the complaint comes from; when the gomastah so complained against shall be ordered down to justify himself, as to the accusation lodged against him. Should the complaints arise in parts distant from either the Presidency or the factories, he thinks a confidence might be reposed in the gentlemen employed as our agents in those parts, as they are men of character, and their appointments have been approved by

by the members of the Board ; and each depended upon to settle the complaints brought against their own gomastahs. Should this not be approved, he can only propose the method pointed out as to the determination of those disputes, that may happen in the neighborhood of the different settlements, or by an aumeen properly authorized to make an enquiry into them. It is necessary we should become our own judges in all disputes, in which we may possibly be concerned. Most true it is, it has not the most equitable appearance, but every gentleman must be convinced, how highly essential such a privilege is, for the supporting our influence, and avoiding the chicanery and perplexities of a Moorish Court.

AND he cannot help thinking, but a power so lodged in our hands, is liable to less abuses, and will be exercised with the strictest impartiality, notwithstanding we may in some respects be interested in the decision of the cause.

Mr.

Mr. Billers's Opinion.

THE first part of the President's letter to the Nabob contains the agreement for our paying a duty of nine per cent. on all articles for inland trade. The Firmaun, and subsequent treaties, are certainly the only guides, which can enable us to form a proper judgment on this subject, and having given the greatest attention to them, when read at the Board last Council-day, I think they give us an undoubted right to trade duty-free in all commodities whatever, either for foreign or inland trade, upon the consideration of our paying annually the peshcush therein stipulated in lieu thereof. These being my sentiments of the meaning of the Firmaun, &c. it follows of course, that I must disapprove of the President's entering into an agreement, which so evidently deprives us of one of the greatest advantages we have gained thereby, and particularly of his having done it on the bare supposition, that it would be approved by the other members

bers of the Board. However, as the Nabob's revenues would suffer, were we to carry on our commerce of every kind without paying any duties, I think it would be proper, that some reasonable consideration should be made him for the privilege of the inland trade; but that he should at the same time be made sensible, that he is by no means entitled thereto, and that it is entirely a mark of favour.

WITH regard to the regulations the President has laid down for the determination of all disputes, which may happen between our agents and gomastahs and the country inhabitants, it is well known, that these people cannot confine themselves within the limits of the authority with which they are invested. The many daring insolences and oppressions, which have been committed by the Nabob's officers, ever since his orders for those regulations were first issued, are evident proofs of the truth of this observation, and sufficiently point out the impropriety of them, without the

the use of further argument. Upon the whole, I think the President might be desired to recall this letter, lest by falling into the hands of any of the Nabob's successors, it might hereafter be used by them as a plea for the same purpose for which it was now designed.

I HAVE already declared my opinion, of the first quere proposed, in giving my sentiments on that part of the President's letter, which relates to the nine per cent. duty. With regard to the second and third, I think the Company's dustuck should be always granted equally for the inland as well as the foreign trade, when it has been settled whether we shall pay any, and what duty, as it will effectually cut off all subject of dispute, by putting it out of the power of the officers to make any objections to the passage of the goods; and that none but Company's servants should have the President's passport for the salt, which may have paid the government's duties at Hoogly.

As to any disputes which may happen between our gomastahs or agents, and the people of the country, I think the only scheme for the determination of them, will be to oblige the person, who may think himself aggrieved, to apply for redress to the nearest factory, whatever distance it may be from the place where the dispute happened, and if he is not content with their decision, he may appeal to the Governor and Council.

MR. BATSON thinks the President's letter to the Nabob detrimental to the interest of the Company, and the nation in general; because, by a forced and groundless explanation, it invalidates the privileges granted by the King's Firmaun, and sundry hufbul-hookums, and confirmed by the treaties with Serajah Dowla and Meer Jaffier. Such an explanation coming from the Chief of the English, may give great advantage to Nabobs, and to other European nations, in any future negotiation, which we may happen to have with them. By this letter also, the advantage of coining in the mints

mints of Dacca and Patna is given up ; and, at the same time, the Calcutta mint rendered of little or no service, for by our being prohibited from using any authority over the shroffs, the currency of rupees, coined at Calcutta, will be stopped in most parts of the country ; and this is actually the case at present, at Cossimbuzar and Moorshedabad. He was much surprised to see these advantages, which were so strenuously contended for many years together, given up without any public consideration. He thinks also, the said letter tends to destroy the national influence in this country, and to bring us into contempt, because the form of address, and several expressions are unbecomingly submissive and condescending ; but chiefly because it submits the English agents, not excepting the Company's factories, to the jurisdiction of the Nabob's officers, which would immediately put a stop to great part of the private trade, and would furnish the Nabob with continual pretences for subjecting the Company to the same

oppressions, which they underwent before the rupture with Serajah Dowla, whenever he should think himself in 'a condition to proceed to such lengths; he therefore thinks we should insist on the Nabob's sending back the said original letter.

IN answer to question the first.

HE thinks by the Firmaun, husbulhookums, and subsequent treaties, the Company, and under them their servants, have a clear right to trade in every article, whether for foreign or inland trade; which right it is our duty to preserve entire and undisputed; and that the arguments used by the gentlemen, on the other side the question, to prove the contrary, do really prove no more, than that former Nabobs had the power and means of hindering us from enjoying the King's grant in its full extent.

IN answer to question the second.

HE thinks we should acquiesce in paying the same duties on salt and tobacco, that have been paid since Meer Jaffier's coming to the subahship; but
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that the same should not be agreed to by any public deed or writing ; and here he thinks proper to remark, that the salt trade, being formerly farmed by Coja Wazeed for an inconsiderable sum, could be no great advantage to the Nabob's revenue ; and by means of the monopoly he allowed the makers and dealers, at the first hand, a very small price from twenty-five to thirty rupees per hundred maunds ; but since the English have had a part of this trade, the price of salt has risen to seventy and eighty rupees per hundred maunds at the aurungs ; from hence any person, acquainted with the country, must see, that from the English trading in this article, the Nabob has received benefit, not suffered loss ; his complaints on this head therefore proceed not from any real grievance.

IN answer to question the third and fourth.

HE thinks dustucks should be allowed to the Company's servants in future for such articles, but not to others.

IN answer to question the fifth.

HE thinks the English agents should not be subjected to the authority of the country government.

IN answer to question the sixth.

HE thinks the business may be carried on as it has been before, without any ill consequences ; however, as a regulation concerning disputes is required, he thinks the officers of the government may enquire into such matters, and send reports of them to the nearest English factory, or to the Presidency, as they may chuse.

Major Carnac's Opinion.

AT the consultation of the 17th of January, major Carnac concurred in opinion with the whole of the gentlemen then at the Board, on the regulations established by the President and Mr. Hastings ; and his reasons for so doing were first, that he deems highly dishonorable our being thereby subjected to the Moorish jurisdiction, as this is acknowledging a dependency on the country government, the deliverance from which
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he had ever regarded as the greatest happiness resulting from our first revolution; nor can any but iniquitous decisions be expected from courts of such notorious partiality. Secondly, Major Carnac deems dishonorable, as also extremely prejudicial to our trade, the agreeing to the granting a duty upon all articles of inland trade, without distinction, none of which were ever before subjected to duties since the establishment of Meer Jaffer, except salt and tobacco; and these must have been through condescension on our part, as our having an universal freedom of trade is so particularly specified, both by our Firmaun and treaties, as not to leave the least room for cavilling. Major Carnac, thirdly, deems it a dishonorable concession (and the gentlemen at Patna have shewn it will be detrimental to the Company) the yielding up the coinage in the mint at Patna, to which he believes we are entitled from our Firmaun; but exclusive thereof we had a very good claim, from having constantly enjoyed that privilege

during the time of the preceding Nabob. The major, in consequence, thinks the letter from the President to the Nabob, containing the said regulations, should be withdrawn. Thus much being premised, answers on the part of major Carnac the first and fifth questions.

WITH respect to the second and third questions, major Carnac is of opinion, that whatever rights we may have from our Firmauns, and our different treaties, should be insisted on ; and therefore, that the Company's dustuck should be granted for all commodities without exception ; and that no duties whatever shall be paid to the Nabob, but in lieu thereof a duty be levied upon dustucks for the benefit of the Company. However, should the Board think this would occasion too great a diminution of the Nabob's revenue, he hopes they will not consent to any other duties, but the continuance of those upon salt and tobacco, the former at the Hoogly rate, and the other according as has been paid at Dacca ; and that in such case, it will be
clearly

clearly explained to the Nabob, that it is a pure indulgence from us, and which we may retract at pleasure ; the Company's dufftucks to be nevertheless equally given for salt and tobacco, as for all other articles of trade.

IF it be determined to make a compliment to the Nabob of a duty upon salt, the other gentlemen of the Board are the best judges, how far the privilege of trading therein ought to be extended ; and whether it should be confined to the Company's servants or not. Major Carnac begs leave to wave giving any answer to the fourth question, not being sufficiently master of the subject.

THAT the black people in our employ are guilty of great irregularities, and commit many abuses under the sanction of our authority, has been a frequent subject of complaint ; and it certainly behoves us to seek every possible remedy thereto, except such an one as has been proposed, which is worse than the disease. There can be no difficulty, at the places which are in the neighbor-

hood of any of our factories, the chiefs and council whereof should be empowered to enquire into the conduct of the English gomastahs ; and we are not to doubt, that the decisions will be fair and equitable. In the places at a distance from our factories, such as Rungpoor, Gwalpara, &c. there are generally some English gentlemen of character resident ; and these, in cases of complaints, should be directed by the Board to take information upon the spot, and to spare no cost or pains to get at the truth, which should be transmitted either to the nearest factory, or to Calcutta ; and upon conviction of any gomastah of misbehavior, the most exemplary punishment should be inflicted, in order to deter others from the like practices.

Mr. Amyatt's Opinion.

MR. VANSITTART, in his minute of the first of February, complains of the harsh and indecent opinion of the Board on the 17th of January, against his treaty entered into with the Nabob,
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and that his negotiation therein did not merit such treatment from us. We were unanimous on the regulations being detrimental and dishonorable, which every article contained therein, I think clearly denounced. The government formerly must have understood, our Firmaun gave us a full and extensive trade, in every thing without distinction, and as far as our gentlemen were in capacity to carry on the inland trade, they practised it for many years. But particular articles being farmed out by the government to particular persons, our trading therein gave umbrage; and governor Stackhouse, I think, was obliged to give a muchulca, that the English would desist from further dealings in salt, silk, and beetle-nut: this was at a time they could not maintain, by force, the privilege of the Delly grants, so through necessity complied with. An order, at this time, would have had the same effect, but they obliged the then Governor to invalidate

validate the Firmaun, by giving this muchulca, which shewed they thought our right good, and by compulsion, got this paper to overfet our future pretensions, and has been ever fince the argument againft them, therefore detrimental and difhonorable. Mr. Vanfittart's renewing this muchulca, by adding an additional duty to what we have already paid through a condefcenfion, is doubtlefs detrimental ; the fubjecting us to the Moorifh laws, and which, to our honor be it known, in the worft of times, we never were ; but now not even an appeal to the Nabob, or the Council, is mentioned ; this doubtlefs is both detrimental and difhonorable. How prejudicial, partial, and unjuft the nature of their courts, customs, and laws are, is fo well known to you all, gentlemen, it is needlefs for me to take up your time, in giving my fentiments in full thereon. The mentioning that our fervants, gomaf-tahs, &c. fhall not carry on trade by oppreffions, &c. are difhonorable terms to be inferted in a public treaty. Surely
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the English justice and honor, was sufficient for the government to be satisfied, that we should severely chastise any one of them, who dared to prostitute our name by any illicit action, without making it an article for them to do it. Many complaints have appeared, but none been proved, and I flatter myself none will of any consequence. The Nabob's orders in circulating Mr. Vansittart's treaty are dishonorable to us, and in a manner an act of hostility, bidding us open defiance.

THE foregoing, were my reasons for concurring with the rest of the Board, on the 17th of January, in censuring the Governor's proceedings; and I am also to remind you, that we thought he had also been guilty of a breach of our privileges, in acting without our consent; and I still think so, for I solemnly declare, I never suspected he could desire such an independent power on so material and national a concern; or, I imagine, the rest of the gentlemen would have been more explicit and peremptory
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in their letters to him. Is it consistent with reason, any Council should give such powers?

DOUBTLESS Mr. Vansittart will ask, what regulations we wanted to have settled with the Nabob? Which, we hoped, from his influence with the Nabob (for he seems to know no one else) would be such, as tended to our advantage, and not to his prejudice; for if trade went freely on, we would readily acquiesce in paying the duties as had been hitherto collected; but the removal of several vexations we had lately labored under, was the point we wanted to see happily effected, and our goods, when certified to be English property, not to meet with any impediment.

I AM now come to the first question.

THE Nabob and Mr. Vansittart seem to think, and assert, we have not a liberty to an unrestrained trade. We have, gentlemen, carefully perused all our Firmauns, treaties, &c. and I think it clearly appears to me we have. Therefore, as the Nabob wants to invalidate those grants,

grants, we ought to have them properly explained to him, and insist, on our parts, to the utmost of the Company's prerogative, and demand the treaty back, and destroy it.

To the second, I am to say, since the Nabob has wanted to impose on us a breach of our liberties, we should not pay any duty on any thing, but support our rights. The Company may want to trade in these articles, when we consider their vast tract of lands, and production thereof, especially salt, on which article they raise a very large duty themselves.

To the third and fourth questions.

ACCORDING to the above plan, dufftucks cannot be granted to any but Company's servants, unless it be for such goods produced upon the Company's lands, and paid their duties; but certificates should to such as have paid the Nabob's any where, on a proper rowana being shewn to the Governor's, or any Chief's, satisfaction, that the Nabob's customs have been duly discharged.

To the fifth and sixth questions.

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THE servants and gomastahs of the English should not, on any account, be under the least constraint of the government ; but I beg leave to defer saying any thing further on this head for the present (how to regulate the disputes that may happen betwixt them and the country government, and indeed among themselves) till such time as I have heard it properly discussed at the Board, where the mutual advantages of the country, and ourselves, will be impartially considered and deliberated on.

MAJOR ADAMS does not think the agreement made with the Nabob, as contained in the Governor's letter to him, calculated to answer the end proposed by it, viz. to settle things on such a footing, as may prevent future disputes with the country government, of whose justice, Mr. Vansittart seems in that treaty to have entertained a much better opinion, than their subsequent conduct shews they deserve.

IN answer to the first question.

MAJOR

MAJOR ADAMS is of opinion, that by the Firmaun, and subsequent treaties (particularly the second article of that with Serajah Dowla) the English East India Company are entitled to carry on any kind of trade duty-free, and in any part of the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá.

To the second question.

THAT the above-mentioned Firmaun and treaties, entitle the said Company to carry on their trade free from any duties; but that to prevent as much as possible any disturbances in the country, such duties as have been collected on any species of trade, since the last revolution, should be continued.

To the third and fourth questions.

MAJOR ADAMS is of opinion, that as the privileges, in the above-mentioned Firmaun, &c. were granted to the English East India Company, they, and their representatives here, are the properest judges for what and whom dufftucks should be granted; and as he looks upon the above questions to be of a private

vate nature, begs to be excused giving his opinion upon them.

To the fifth question.

MAJOR ADAMS thinks, that the experience we have had of the tyrannical and rapacious disposition of the officers of the country government, almost renders this question unnecessary ; however, as his opinion is required, with the rest of the gentlemen at the Board, his duty to the public obliges him to declare, that he thinks it should by no means be allowed.

To the sixth and last question.

THAT wherever any considerable trade is carried on (however far distant) a Company's servant should reside, invested with full power to enquire into any disputes, and punish the delinquents ; and that where the trade carried on is not of consequence sufficient to require a resident, upon any complaint against gomastahs, or English factors, the persons complained of should be immediately summoned to the nearest English factory, as well as all the evidences against them ;
and

and that the Chief of each factory, with his Council, should be empowered to inflict the severest punishment on such gomastahs or factors; if found guilty, and that no expence should be spared to bring offenders to justice, but should the complaint be found to be false or frivolous, the complainant should pay all the costs and damages.

The President's Opinion.

THE regulations contained in my letter * to the Nabob, of the 26th of December, are such as appear to me to be conformable to the true intent and meaning of the Firmaun, and subsequent treaties, considered with the Company's orders, relative to the trade of their servants, and particularly the 24th and 29th paragraphs, in one of their general letters of the year 1748. I am aware, that the abuses

* The stile of this letter, is the stile which I have always used, and the same I understand, which was used by my predecessors since the troubles. No Persian letter, nor eastern forms of expression, will bear a literal translation. They appear absurd in European languages, although they are natural and customary in the Persian.

which some of the Nabob's officers have exercised, upon the appearance of these regulations, will be urged as an objection to them; but this is arguing by consequences; and I answer, that these, or whatever other regulations may be proposed, will sometimes be abused by both parties, especially on their first establishment; and the only remedy for this evil, is to punish all servants of ours, who shall break through rules, and insist on the Nabob's doing the same. Although some men are so licentious as to break through all laws, it is not a reason why laws should be abolished.

BUT to proceed to the different articles objected to. It is said that the inland trade, that is, the trade in salt and other articles, produced in one part of the country, and sent to another part of the same country for sale and consumption, shall not be carried on with the Company's duffuck, but shall go with the duffuck of the country government, after paying them a duty of nine per cent. The Firmaun says, "that whatever goods and merchandize the gomastahs

tahs of the English Company shall bring into any port or place of the province by sea or land, or carry out, shall be free of duty." For my part, I can understand this no otherwise, than that the goods they shall bring in from foreign parts, may be transported to any part of the province, by sea or land, duty-free ; and the goods they purchase in any part of the province, may in like manner be carried out. This I imagine to be all the Company asked ; and it is not to be supposed more was granted. By such a trade, the country reaps the benefit of the goods and money imported ; but all that is gained by us in trafficking from place to place in the country, in articles of its own produce, is in effect so much lost to the country.

THE subsequent treaties confirm the privilege of the Firmaun ; and particularly the second article of the treaty with Serajah Dowla declares, that " all goods going to, or coming from, any place by land or water with the Company's duff-tuck, shall be free." It remains still to

be limited, by the Firmaun and the Company's orders, for what occasions the dustucks shall be granted; and I think it behoves us greatly, to take care they are not granted for any purpose beyond the intention of the Firmaun, and to answer those ends the Company had in view, when they put themselves to the expence of applying for it.

WITH respect to the power of our gomastahs, the Firmaun says, "that in every place where they buy or sell, the officers of the government shall assist them in their lawful demands; and every merchant, weaver, or other person, upon whom the English gomastah shall have a just demand, the officers of the government shall oblige to pay it, and suffer no one to oppress the gomastahs. And if any servant of the Company being in their debt shall run away, the officers of the government shall take him up, and deliver him to the chief of the factory." The Nabob Jaffier Allee Cawn, in his general sunnud 1757, confirms all the Firmaun privileges; and adds, that

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“ the Company may buy or sell without employing a banyan or broker ; and that the officers of the government shall assist them in all their just demands.” Nothing here can be said to give our gomastahs power to decide their own causes, or make use of any force of their own ; but they are to apply to the officers of the government, and obtain redress thro’ their means.

As to the coinage, there is an order, granting the Company permission to coin in the King’s mint at Carreemabad ; and in case it can be done without loss to the King’s revenues, three days in the week are to be set apart for the English Company’s bullion : but there is no particular indulgence as to the rate of coining ; they are to pay the same mint charges as other merchants. And this is all the Nabob desired ; as I mentioned in my answer to Nobit Roy’s complaints ; of which answer I gave Mr. Ellis a copy. Besides, I think this privilege now unnecessary, as we have a mint of our own, in which we may coin the rupees of

Dacca and Patna, as we do of Moorshedabad.

IN regard to making tofalls, or salt pans, in Sunderbund, I confess, my letter to the Nabob does not fully express what I intended. I meant, that we ought not to take away the grounds which other merchants have cleared, nor the workmen which they have hired, as appears by my letters to the chiefs of Chittagong and Luckypoor, which I delivered to the Nabob at the same time. As to trading by our gomastahs with the mountaineers, who came with cotton to Rangamettee ; if it has been a custom for that article to be farmed out by the country government, and it is from that only the revenue proceeds, I think we have no right to overrule that custom. Any innovations to the prejudice of the revenues of the country government, and the exclusion of the country merchants, from that share of the trade which they have long enjoyed, I think should be avoided, as such proceedings must render

der us universally the objects of jealousy and ill-will.

To the proposed questions I therefore say,

FIRST, That I think we have not a right by the Firmaun and subsequent treaties to carry on the inland trade, or the trade from place to place in the country, in commodities produced in the country; but that we have a right to carry on all other trade custom free.

SECONDLY, That I think duties ought to be paid to the country government on salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, and all other articles of inland trade, upon those conditions; so that it may not hereafter be disputed. I mean, that duties should be paid to the country government upon articles produced in the country, and sent from place to place in the country for consumption there; but when sent to Calcutta for consumption or exportation, they should go with the Company's dustuck, and pay no duties to the country government.

IN such case the country has its advantage, in the vent given to their manufactures or produce, by the trade of this settlement, and the Company receive the customs ; but on the inland trade we pay no duties at all, unless we pay to the country government ; and yet that trade will afford duties better than any other.

THIRDLY and fourthly, I think the Company's duffuck should not be granted for any article of inland trade ; but that certificates should be granted to accompany the duffuck of the country government ; and that such certificates should be granted equally to Company's servants, and any other licensed English merchants, who have first duly paid the government's duties, and got their duffucks.

FIFTHLY and sixthly, I think the English gomastahs should not be under the controul of the officers of the country government at those aurungs, which are under the charge of any of the subordinate factories ; but in case of any complaint
against

against them, the officers of the country government shall apply to the chief of the factory for redress ; and in case the gomastah has a dispute with, or demand upon, any of the country people (not the weavers, or other immediate servants of the Company) he shall apply to the officers of the government for redress ; and if the officers of the government neglect, or refuse to grant it, the gomastah shall then make his complaint to the chief of the factory, who shall require, and, if necessary, exact, an immediate compliance, giving a full account of the matter to the Board.

BUT at those aurungs, which are not under the management of any of the Company's factories, but only some particulars have their agents or gomastahs there ; I think such an authority cannot be trusted in their hands ; nor indeed is it possible, as there may be several different gomastahs in one place, who have all an equal right to authority. I think they should apply to the country government for redress on all occasions ; and if
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the officers of the government do not grant them the satisfaction the matter requires, the gomastah may then make his complaint to his principal, and he to the Board, who will insist on the necessary reparation for all unreasonable losses. I do not however mean, that in case of complaint against an English gomastah at such place, the officer of the country government shall have authority to seize the gomastah, stop his goods, or interrupt his business; but he shall give him notice of the complaint, and recommend to him to get it settled; and in case the gomastah refuses, or neglects to give such satisfaction, as shall appear to the government's officer to be reasonable, he may then transmit the complaint to the Governor of Calcutta.

I SEE nothing in the Firmaun, or subsequent treaties, which forbids the government's officers from doing themselves justice on such occasions; but yet the nature of the people is such, that it would be dangerous to admit it; of which

which their present violent proceedings are a sufficient proof.

THE opinions having been all read at the Board, the sum of the answers to the several questions stands as follow.

To the first, *viz. Whether the Firmaun granted a right to trade in all articles custom-free?*

IN the affirmative, Ten voices.

IN the negative, with
respect to the inland } Two.
trade,

To the second, *viz. Whether any customs should be paid on some articles?*

IN the affirmative, Seven.

IN the negative, Five.

To the third, *viz. Whether the Company's dustuck should be granted for inland trade?*

IN the affirmative, Nine.

IN the negative, Two.

MAJOR ADAMS, silent.

THE fourth question, being altered by the determination of the second, stands thus.

As it is determined, that duties shall be allowed on certain articles, whether certificates shall be granted to those who pay that duty, but are not Company's servants? and it being accordingly put, the sum of the opinions stands as follow.

IN the affirmative, Mes.

Hay, Cartier, Amy- } Four voices.
att and the President, }

IN the negative, Mes.

fieurs Watts, Marriott, } Six.
Johnstone, Hastings, }
Billers and Batson. }

THE Majors Carnac and Adams, silent.

TO the fifth and sixth questions, *viz.*
Whether the English gomastahs should be subject to the controul of the officers of the government? and how disputes between them should be settled? The opinion of all the Board, excepting Mr. Hastings, imports, that the English gomastahs shall not be under any actual controul of the officers of the country government, but be restrained by such regulations as may be laid down."

I AM persuaded, that my opinion will be thought reasonable by all disinterested persons, and to contain as great privileges of private trade, as the Company ever intended their servants should enjoy ; more indeed than was consistent with their repeated orders. However, neither my opinion, nor the Company's orders, could avail against minds, which were heated with the notion, that their honor was at stake, in supporting the party they were engaged in. It was resolved accordingly, that we had a right to trade in salt, beetle-nut, and every other article of inland trade, duty free, and with the Company's dustuck, equally with the foreign trade ; yet it appears, as if the Council saw at the very time the injustice of their proceeding, by their admitting, that a something should be paid to the Nabob, in conformity to the usual practice ; not that the Nabob had any right to demand it, but merely as an indulgence which they were willing to allow him. The following are the

the proceedings relative to the settling of this point.

Extract of Consultation of the 1st of March, 1763.

“ **A**S it is the opinion of the majority of the Board, that a consideration ought to be paid to the Nabob, on certain articles of the inland trade, the members from the subordinates are asked, what duties they have hitherto paid? and on what articles?

MR. CARTIER says, that, at Dacca, they usually paid,

On salt, Sicca Rs. 3 8 per 100 mds.

On tobacco 0 4 per maund.

MR. BILLERS says, that, at Lucky-poor, they usually paid,

On salt, Dm. Rs. 9 14 3 per 100 mds.

On tobacco 0 4 0 per maund.

MR. MARRIOTT says, that, at Chitagong, and its districts, nothing has been paid. * Cossimbuzar, Patna, and Malda, pay nothing.

FROM

* At these three places, neither salt, beetle-nut, nor tobacco, were purchased for the inland trade.

CALCUTTA * pays nothing, except on salt, about the rate of four and half Sicca rupees per 100 maunds, paid at Hoogly.

THE trade, in the article of tobacco, has been carried on from the last mentioned places with a dustuck.

THESE informations being had, the following question is now put to be answered to-morrow.

How much shall in future be paid on salt, or other articles of inland trade, which are carried from one place in the country to another, for sale and consumption?

MR. HAY desires, that the following question may likewise be put.

Whether the salt, and other produce of the Company's lands, are to pay duties to the country government, or not?

AND Mr. Watts the following.

Whether we have not a right to coin bullion in the mints of Patna and Dacca, and on what terms?"

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* At Calcutta, no other article of inland trade was purchased excepting salt.

THE next day, the 2d of March, the opinions were collected as follows.

Mr. Watts's Opinion.

“THE majority of the Board yesterday were of opinion, that by our Firmaun, husbul-hookums, and subsequent treaties, we had a right to trade in any articles produced or bought in the Indostan empire; and that in pursuance of the above privileges no duties ought to be paid; and that dustucks ought to be granted with any articles, either salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, or any other; but as former Nabobs had collected duties on some articles (tho’ contrary to the privileges granted us) they were willing some consideration should be made to the Nabob. For my own part, I am still of the same opinion, that no duties should be paid on any articles; and I shall always esteem it as an opening left for the present Nabob, to make a further infringement on our privileges when opportunity may offer. Nor do I see any reason for this indulgence to be

be given a man, who has spared no pains to degrade the name of the English ; taken every opportunity to insult our flag ; has almost totally stopt our business for near six months past, and insulted this Board, by attempting to enforce a treaty, executed by the Governor only, and that by threats and arms.

HIS letter to Mahomed Allee, collector at Dacca, is a sufficient proof of the first ; and Mahomed Allee's letter to the Sickdar of Sundeep, could not be written but by his order.

HOWEVER, as the majority of the Board are for making some allowance, I think two and a half per cent. on the rowana, on salt only, is full sufficient ; but as tobacco has only paid duties in some parts, and dustucks been granted with it from others, I think that we ought not to pay any duties on it.

THE salt produced on the Company's lands ought not to pay duties.

THE right to coin bullion in the mints of this empire is fully confirmed

by an exprefs * hufbul-hookum, No. 21, that two and a quarter per cent. is what Juggutfeet paid to the government, and much about what the Dutch pay ; therefore, I think we ought to have the privilege of coining all the Company's monies, in any of the mints of the three provinces, at two and a quarter per cent. which is more than fufficient to defray the charges of coinage.

Mr. Marriott's Opinion.

MR. MARRIOTT is of opinion, that in confequence of the government's collecting a duty on falt, and which we have for the moft part acquiefced in, a duty fhould be paid the government, of two and a half per cent. on the rowana price, as it appears all the rowanas run at that rate ; but as he looks upon it as an infringement of the Firmaun privilege,

* Here once for all I will remark, that a hufbul-hookum, as they call it, is nothing more than a writing from the vizir, enjoining a ftrict obedience to the King's Firmaun, but conveys no diftinct or further privileges. The Firmaun gives us leave to coin, but without mention of the rate, and of courfe we fhould pay as other merchants. No hufbul-hookum expreffes more.

lege, the Nabob ought to be informed it is a concession on our part; that this duty of two and a half per cent. should be paid at one place, and no other demands made on any occasion, or boats stopped with salt on any pretence, having the droga's receipt on the back of the Company's dustuck. That the salt produced on the Company's lands should also pay duty, as it has hitherto done, there having been no distinction made. That tobacco, and beetle-nut, ought not to pay duties, as dustucks for those articles have generally been given, and no duties paid at the place they were produced at, except at Dacca and Luckypoor, on the sale of the former, which appears to have been an arbitrary thing, as the duty on that article ought certainly to have been collected at every place.

THAT in regard to the exchange of money, as we have an undoubted right to coin ficcas from our Firmaun and funnuds, we ought to insist on what we coin should pass; but to obviate any loss, that might arise by batta on ficcas of a dif-

ferent mint at another place, we should get stamps of the several mints, where we may have occasion to send money, and coin with those stamps accordingly.

Mr. Hay's Opinion.

I HAVE already given my opinion, that no duties should be paid; and as I can conceive no reason for paying any, but to shew that we will not press our rights harder on the present Nabob, than we did on the last; I therefore think if any duty is paid, it should be the same as in Meer Jaffier's time.

I THINK the Company, and their servants, who carry out the produce of the Company's lands with a dustuck, should pay no duties.

I THINK, by the grants from Delly, that we have a right to coin and recoin money in the Nabob's mints; and that it should be done at the rates the Company receive from persons that coin and recoin in their mints, which is about the same that has hitherto been paid at Patna.

Mr.

Mr. Johnstone's Opinion.

THAT we have a right to a free trade without paying duties of any kind, whenever our dustuck is granted, and that it should be granted for all articles of gruff, &c. for the inland traffick and consumption in the country, as well as for goods imported and exported, I expressed in my minute of yesterday ; but as the majority were for acquiescing to continue to the Nabob, as a point of favor, not of right, a certain allowance on salt, tho' I dissent from all such allowance in any manner, as it is establishing by custom, though not by right, a duty upon an article that makes so very considerable a part of the produce and revenues of the Company's lands, and which they may hereafter probably disapprove ; yet, as the question now stands, that something should be continued to be paid to the Nabob, and it is demanded what that should be ; two and a half per cent. on the rowana price, I think the most that should be paid.

THE article of tobacco having been hitherto carried on with the Company's duffuck towards Cossimbuzar, Malda, and Patna, from Calcutta, and no rowana ever taken out for it, at Dacca and Luckypoor, where only it has ever been paid ; I look on our right to grant duffucks for this article as fully established, as on any other gruff article, for which the Company now grant their duffuck. This I think may be done with as much right, in virtue of our Firmaun and treaties, as for any articles of consumption to be imported to Calcutta, which the President proposes should be carried on without duties, and on which, before the revolution, we paid as well as on any other article.

As the Calcutta ficas cannot pass at Dacca, and Patna without a discount, contrary to the treaty for establishing our mint; and the currency of the Calcutta ficas thro' the three provinces, without Batta, and the Nabob Meer Jaffier on this consideration granted perwanahs for coining the sum necessary for the business of the factories

factories at Patna and Dacca, I think we have a just claim to coin as formerly so much in those mints at two and a quarter per cent. which I think better than stamping ficcas of those places in our mints, as it appears by the example of our Moorshedabad ficcas, that the shroffs will always elude this method, and not receive those rupees but at a discount.

Mr. Hastings's Opinion.

MR. HASTINGS is of opinion, in answer to question the first.

THAT nine per cent. on the prime cost of each article should be paid to the government, which he judges to be pretty nearly the same with the duty paid by other merchants.

To question the second. That every article of inland trade being produced, tho' not in equal abundance, upon the Company's lands, to except them from the duty levied upon the same articles produced in other parts, would be a source of continual frauds and disputes with the government; and that therefore all such goods should be taxed, or none.

To question the third. That we have no such right of coining in the Nabob's mints, nor the least pretence to claim it, that he knows of.

Mr. Cartier's Opinion.

MR. CARTIER thinks, that no duty should be paid on any article of our trade but salt, as he finds tobacco has paid no duties in any part of the country but Dacca and Luckypoor; and has ever been considered, by the gentlemen in Calcutta who have traded in it, as free from any, and dustucks procured from the Presidency; Cossimbuzar, Patna and Malda, circulating the same.

THAT we should likewise insist upon the privilege of coining in the several mints of the provinces, unless we can enforce the currency of the different species of rupees, agreeable to the fixed batta of the place they may be sent to, which will render any application on this head unnecessary.

THAT the salt produced in the Company's lands should be subject to the same duty, as what may be produced in other parts of the country. *Mr.*

Mr. Billers's Opinion.

As it is agreed by the Board, to pay a duty on certain articles of the inland trade, I give it as my opinion, that salt is the only article which ought to pay custom to the country government, that two and half per cent. on the rowana price should be the stipulated rate, and that the produce on the Company's lands should pay the same.

I THINK we have a right to recoin the Company's money either at Patna or Dacca, on paying two one-fourth per cent. being the usual custom paid hitherto at Patna.

Mr. Batson's Opinion.

MR. BATSON, in answer to the several questions proposed in consultation of the 22d of February, gave his opinion, that we should acquiesce in paying the same duties on salt and tobacco, that have been paid since Meer Jaffier's coming to the Subahship ; but that the same should not be agreed to, by any publick deed or writing. The President yesterday proposed the same question, to be answered

answered again by yes or no, without explanation or restriction. Mr. Batson therefore thinks proper to explain himself further on this head. He thinks, we should continue tacitly to acquiesce in paying such duties on salt and tobacco, and at such places only, as we did in Meer Jaffier's time, that the Nabob may not complain of our using him worse, in any respect, than we did Meer Jaffier; but that we should not even make any publick declaration thereof, much less agree to it by any publick deed. He further thinks, no new treaty should be entered into with the Nabob on this head; but that we should insist on his adhering strictly to those made with Serajah Dowla and Meer Jaffier.

THAT he does not see any reason for making a distinction in regard to goods produced in the Company's lands; and thinks we have a right to coin in the mints of Patna and Dacca, and that it should be done at the same rate, it was in Meer Jaffier's time.

Major Carnac's Opinion.

MAJOR CARNAC has given it as his opinion, that no duties whatever should be given to the Nabob : however, a majority of the Board having determined, that a consideration should be paid for certain articles of trade ; major Carnac thinks it should only be upon such articles, for which the Nabob can plead our constant practice, and this cannot be done of any other commodity, save salt ; the most equitable statement for which seems to be, to pay the sums specified in the rowana, viz. two and half per cent.

MAJOR CARNAC hopes, whatever allowance may be agreed on, the Board will be particularly careful to have it explained to the Nabob, that it is a matter of favor, not of right.

Mr. Amyatt's Opinion.

THE general opinion of the Board being, we had an undoubted right to trade free from any duty whatever ; but that the present Nabob should enjoy a revenue equal with his predecessors, they agreed

greed to pay him a consideration for such inland trade, to which Mr. Amyatt readily concurs ; and thinks the consideration now to be allowed, is intended to amount to as much as was before, and is now paid ; so that all the inland trade in general should be taxed to pay this charge, as every article can equally bear it ; and a duty of two per cent. should be levied on all articles purchased in any part of the country, to be sent and sold in another part. But to prevent any impediments in carrying on our business, or vexations from designed delays in receiving this duty by the government's people, he would propose, that all goods pass with a Company's dustuck, which dustuck being carried to the buxbundar, they are immediately to receive their two per cent. and give a receipt for the amount upon the back of the dustuck ; and then those goods are free to pass, and be sold any where.

MR. AMYATT is of opinion, since an allowance upon salt is agreed on, it should be equally granted upon that
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which is made in our own pergunahs. With respect to the mint at Patna and Dacca, he sees no occasion for the unlimited use thereof; and the sum we have demanded to be yearly coined there, being sufficient for all reasonable purposes, he is of opinion, that and no more should be insisted on.

Major Adams's Opinion.

MAJOR ADAMS esteems his opinion sufficiently expressed in his minute of yesterday, in answer to the second question proposed the 19th, namely, that the duties which have hitherto been paid should continue to be so, to prevent disturbances, and embroiling our affairs with the country government.

The President's Opinion.

As I am of opinion the inland trade from place to place in the country, in articles of the produce of the country, is not comprehended within the privileges of the Firmaun, and consequently that we have no right to insist, or expect to carry it on custom-free; so I think, if we find it for our advantage to carry it on,

on, we must be satisfied with the same terms as other merchants, and pay the established King's duties at every place, unless we can agree with the Nabob for an equivalent.

By all the informations I could get on this subject, I find, that from this place to Patna, the King's duties are collected on salt at six different places, viz. Hoogly, Moorshedabad, or Jalinghy, Rajemahl, Carrigola, Bauglepoor, and finally, the dewannee duty upon the sales at Patna.

THE amount of these, reckoned at the lowest of the several informations I took, was more than twenty-five rupees per hundred maunds; or if we reckon them at what is said to be the regular King's duties, at every place where duties are collected, that is, two and a half per cent. the amount will be fifteen per cent.

ON tobacco it appears, that both at Dacca and Luckypoor they have paid four anas per maund; which reckoning
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the cost two rupees per maund, will turn out above twelve per cent.

ON beetle-nut it appears, they have hitherto paid no duties ; but for my part, I can conceive no other distinction between what ought to pay duties to the country government, and what not, but this of *foreign trade* ; that is, goods imported, and goods bought for exportation ; and *inland trade*, in articles of the produce of the country from place to place in the country ; the first of which, being a Firmaun privilege, pays duties to the Company, and goes with their dustuck ; the second, I understand not to be a Firmaun privilege ; it goes from place to place in the country, without paying any duties to the Company ; and I think the government has as much right to their custom from us on such trade, as from other merchants.

UPON the whole, I think nine per cent. on the prime cost of the goods a very easy and advantageous accommodation for the English dealers in this trade ; and as the Nabob has consented to accept that,

that, as an equivalent for all demands throughout the three provinces, I am of opinion, we should readily agree to it, and obtain a confirmed right to what has hitherto been always disputed; and I must add, that I think it is a tax which the trade will well bear.

RECKONING salt at eighty rupees per hundred maunds, which is a high price for the prime cost, we shall pay only seven rupees and a quarter per hundred maunds. With respect to the produce of the Company's lands, I think the merchants who deal in that should pay customs equally with others, as they have always hitherto done to the country government, upon what has been carried up the country, and to the Company themselves upon what has been imported at Calcutta.

As to our right by former grants to coin in the King's mints, it may be doubted, whether the grant to hold a mint ourselves does not supercede the former; but supposing it does not, and that we have yet a right to coin in the
King's

King's mints, it is not with any particular indulgence as to the rate of the coinage, but we must pay the same mint charges as other merchants."

IT was no easy matter to determine who were the majority, and what was their opinion; but at length it was resolved, that the majority of the Board were agreed, that two and a half per cent. on the rowana price, should be the established custom on salt; that the article of salt only should pay a custom to the country government, and this as a compliment, a favor, a consideration, not a right.

I BELIEVE it will be hard to produce an instance like this, of a question of so much consequence being determined, by such a strange confusion of voices; and indeed nothing can be more absurd than the determination itself; for if they were of opinion, the Mogul King's Firmaun did convey such an unlimited extent to our private trade, the point had better have been settled at once, that nothing

should be paid ; if on the other hand, they began to perceive they had been misled, and that the Firmaun did not convey such an unlimited extent, then they should have resolved to carry it on like other merchants ; or if they meant to go by former precedents, they should have paid such duties as had been paid before, not only on salt, but tobacco likewise. Upon the whole, they neither did justice to themselves, nor to the Nabob, nor to former custom ; but made an arbitrary rule, which any majority of the Council, may at any time annul, and form another with equal right.

WHEN the Council desired me to settle a regulation of the private trade on a solid plan, either they meant to acknowledge some rights in the Nabob, or else pretended to mean so, purposely to deceive me, and aggravate, by this artifice, our disputes with the government. If they had resolved to acknowledge no rights, they should have desired me to declare to the Nabob, that he must not attempt to restrain the English or their gomastahs,

gomastahs, nor demand customs of any kind, nor hinder their carrying their trade in all articles to all corners of the country. If this was their resolution, I say, they should have declared it then, and I would have endeavored to make the Nabob submit to it, until he could get redress from the court of directors; but I believe the truth is, that the Council, at the time they desired me to settle a plan, and sent me the account of duties paid at Luckypoor for my guidance, did really mean to pay duties, and acknowledge the Nabob's rights, but other notions were instilled into them afterwards.

THEN they affect to be surprized, that I found my authority on the plain sense of the words of their letter, of the 15th of November, and * say, that their answer to Mr. Hastings and me, dated the 27th of December, plainly demonstrates, that they never gave, nor intended to give me power to conclude those regulations, or any other. It is true, their

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letter

* See Mr. Amyatt's Minute of the 3d of February, p. 257.

letter of the 27th of December contradicts the former; but I could not without the gift of prophecy know, that they meant nothing by their first letter, and that they would contradict it by another, which was to reach me, after I had taken leave of the Nabob.

MR. HASTINGS, at the consultation of the 2d of March, desired leave to say something further in explanation of that article of his opinion, of the first, which related to the setting proper bounds of authority between the government's officers, and the English gomastahs. This additional minute was as follows.

Mr. Hastings's Minute of the 2d of March.

“ **I**N the consultation of yesterday, it having been entered as the unanimous opinion of the Board, with the single exception of myself, that the English gomastahs should be subject to no controul from the government; I must beg leave to subjoin another argument to what I have already said upon the
subject,

subject, in favor of this singularity of sentiment.

IN all affairs relating to our connections with the country government, one object we should ever keep in view, as of the highest importance to the future welfare of the Company. I mean, the duration of their acquisitions, and influence in this country. Whatever may serve to perpetuate and fix these advantages, though attended with a present inconvenience, should be invariably pursued: and whatever present or temporary conveniencies have a tendency to destroy them, or to change our connections, should be for the same reason rejected. An union between two powers, which stand in need of each other's assistance, and whose interests agree, may endure for ages: but where that mutual dependence is wanting, and their interests are perpetually clashing, the greatest efforts of human wisdom will scarcely be able to unite them on any solid foundation. Such unfortunately is our situation in our alliance with the Nabob,

His power, if properly supported, and a mutual confidence were established between us, would indeed afford us the greatest benefit and security. But the chief source of discord between us, arises from the intricacy of our connections with him. Our lands (the least subject indeed of contention, because divided by known and fixed boundaries) lie close to, and even in the midst of his. Our trade is circulated through every part of his country, and our agents and dependents intimately blended with his subjects, without any bounds to mark out the extent of his authority, and our own privileges.

It is now proposed to fix such a limitation, by absolving every person employed in our service from the jurisdiction of the government. This, it is true, will prevent their suffering any oppression, but it gives them a full licence of oppressing others; since whatever crimes they may commit, the magistrate must patiently look on, nor dare even to defend the lives or properties of the subjects

jects entrusted to his care, without a violation of our rights and privileges. Such is the expedient proposed for the security of our trade, and for preserving the tranquility of the country!

SUCH a system of government cannot fail to create in the minds of the wretched inhabitants an abhorrence of the English name and authority; and how will it be possible for the Nabob, whilst he hears the cries of his people, which he cannot redress, not to wish to free himself from an alliance, which subjects him to such indignities?

I FORBEAR, at present, to take notice of the methods, which are to be employed as checks of such a licentiousness; but shall briefly observe, that if the Chiefs of the factories are to be made the judges in all causes, in which their gomastahs are concerned, whatever their integrity may be, or how unbiaſſed ſoever their judgments; yet ſuch is the infatuation of mankind (not to ſpeak of Bengallees alone) that in ninety-nine caſes out of an hundred, they will rat-

ther submit to oppression, than forsake their houses, and travel with a crowd of witnesses to the nearest factory in quest of justice, when they believe their judge to be interested in the suit against them ; as there will be few instances, in which it will not be in the power of the gomastah to connect his own frauds or rogueries with the interest of his employer, so as to make it hazardous to chastize him."

AT the same consultation a letter was received from Dacca, inclosing a copy of one which Mahomed Allee, the collector there, had received from the Nabob, on the subject of a complaint I had made of some bales of cloth belonging to me having been stopped. The Nabob reprimands Mahomed Allee, for not distinguishing between the foreign trade, which would go with a dustuck ; and the inland trade, which alone was to pay duties ; and in the postscript, forbids him to molest any gomastahs, or to demand duties upon goods, which should have the Company's, or *my* dustuck. I wrote

wrote to the Nabob immediately to explain to him, that one and the same duffuck was ever used for the Company's goods and mine, and all other gentlemen's in the service; and that his giving a particular order in favour of my gomastahs, was not what I expected, but desired to fare like others; and that his expressing any particular regard to my interest, would only give people an opportunity of attempting to injure my reputation. The Nabob's letter, and my address to him on the subject, are entered in the margin *. They are of
so

* *Copy of a letter from the Nabob to Mahomed Allee.*

By a letter from the Governor I understand,
“ that with regard to the merchandize of the coun-
“ try, viz. tobacco, salt, beetle-nut, and dried fish,
“ which at different places are purchased and sold,
“ tho' they want to pay 9 per cent. yet you are
“ desirous of stopping the business, and will not
“ pay any regard to it, but endeavour to interrupt
“ the trade; that you likewise demand duties on the
“ Company's cloth, which has the Company's duff-
“ tuck, and never was known to pay any duties.
“ That Coja Askafuc, through the means of Coja
“ Wanis,

so little consequence, that I should not have swelled this Narrative with them, but that it will appear in the sequel, that Messieurs Johnstone and Hay did
 really

“ Wanis, was appointed to transact the Governor’s
 “ private business at Dacca, and had, agreeably to
 “ the Company’s dustuck, provided thirty bales of
 “ cloth, twenty-eight of which he sent before, and
 “ afterwards the two others; but you intercepted
 “ them, and demanded duties thereon; and with-
 “ out reason demanded duties on cloths, and on the
 “ Company’s purchases, that before never paid
 “ any.”

THE Governor and myself have agreed, that on the Company’s exports and imports, having a dustuck, no duties shall be demanded by any one; and whatever goods are purchased and sold within this country, being the produce of this country, shall pay 9 per cent. at the place where they are bought. A copy of the agreement I before sent to you; but it is amazing you will not observe the contents, but interrupt the Company’s goods. Now I strictly order you to examine well the agreement, and act according to it. You are not to make any demand on goods at any of the Company’s places of trade, having the Company’s dustucks; but on whatever goods are purchased, being the produce of the country, you are to take 9 per cent. at the place where they are purchased;
 and

really make such an attempt, although I did not suspect it at that time.

THE 4th of March, Messieurs Cartier, Johnstone Hay, Senior, and Bolts,
joined

and never in any respect deviate from the agreement. This strictly observe.

P. S. The Governor writes, that you impede the gomastah for his private business; there is no mention of private or public in the agreement; yet, as he is my true friend, I now write, that if the said gomastah has the Company's or the Governor's dustuck, you are not to impede him.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor to the Nabob.

THE Chief of Dacca sent me the copy of a letter wrote by you to Mahomed Allee Beg, in which he is strictly charged to take customs according to my agreement; and (although there is no distinction of persons mentioned in the agreement, yet, as I have a proper friendship for you) not to interrupt the gomastahs employed in my trade, who shall be provided with my dustuck, or the Company's. The regulations contained in that letter, or agreement of mine, which I wrote in answer to your perwannah, in order to put an end to the disputes between your people and the English gomastahs, cannot now take place; because that, through the injurious behaviour of Mahomed Allee Beg, and Syed Jelaul Bocary, and the other officers of the fircar, greater disturbances

joined in a representation to the Board, of obstructions they met with in their private trade at Rangamettee. The injuries complained of were such, as required immediate redress; it was resolved therefore to send a party of seepoys to seize the fougedar, and free the business which was stopped.

THIS was followed by a like complaint from Patna, of their opium business being obstructed at Bahar, and duties demanded; but it concluded with advising, that they should send a party of seepoys to protect their gomastahs.

AND

disturbances have arisen than ever. This I have already acquainted you with. You order Mahomed Allee not to interrupt any trade which shall be provided with my duffuck, or the Company's. All the duffucks granted, either for my goods, or other gentlemen's, are the Company's, and the same which have ever been established. I represented to you, that no interruption must be given to the trade of the English, and did not speak of my own in particular; because my business, and that of other gentlemen, is on the same footing; and the distinction you make in my favour, can only gain me an ill name.

AND the same day a general resolution was taken, concerning the disputes which might happen in future between the officers of the country government and our gomastahs, to the following purport.

END OF VOL. II.



